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ART. I.—AMERICAN NATIONALITY.

By nationality we understand the peculiar genius of a people which animates its institutions, prompts its actions and begets a feeling of common interest and sympathy. It is not the result of any compact, but an instinct of human nature in its social capacity, an expansion of the inborn love of self and kindred. To hate his own countrymen is as unnatural as to hate his own brothers and sisters.

Nationality grows with the nation itself and acts as a powerful stimulus in its development. But on the other side it presupposes an organized state of society and is the result of a historical process. Barbarians have no nationality, because they are no nations, but simply material for nations. It is not only the community of origin and language, but also the community of rights and duties, of laws and institutions, of deeds and sufferings, of freedom and oppression, of literature and art, of virtue and religion, that enters into the definition of a nation and gives vigor to the sense of nationality. Historical reminiscences of glory and woe, whether preserved in monuments, or written records, or oral traditions, popular songs and national airs, such as "God save the Queen," "Ye mariners of England," "Rule, Britannia," "Scots wha hae with Wallace bled," "Allons enfens de la patrie," "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland," "The Star Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia,"—contribute powerfully to strengthen the national tie and to kindle the fire of national enthusiasm.

Nationality begets patriotism, one of the noblest of natural virtues that has filled the pages of history with so many heroic deeds and sacrifices. Who can read without admiration the immortal story of Gideon, Leonidas, Cincinnatus, Horatius Cocles, William Tell, Arnold von Winkelried, the Maid of Orleans, John Hampden, Prince William of Orange, Andrew Hofer, George Washington, who lived or died for their country.

True patriotism does not imply hatred or contempt of foreigners, and is entirely compatible with a proper regard for the rights and welfare of other nations, just as self-love and self-respect may and should co-exist with the most generous philanthropy. A narrow-minded and narrow-hearted nationalism which walls out the life of the world and for this very reason condemns itself to perpetual imprisonment in the treadmill of its own pedantry and conceit, may suit semi-barbarians, or the stagnant heathen civilization of China and Japan, but not an enlightened Christian people. True and false nationalism and patriotism are related to each other, as self-love to selfishness. The first is a law of nature, the second a vice. We respect a man in the same proportion in which his self-love expands into love of kindred and country, and his patriotism into love of humanity at large. Washington was always generous to the enemy and was the first to establish amicable relations with England after the conclusion of the American war. The Christian religion, which commands us to love God supremely and our neighbor as ourselves, tends to purify and elevate patriotism, like every other natural virtue, by emancipating it from the selfish, over-bearing, all-grasping passion of conquest, and making it contributory to the general welfare of the human family. One of the noblest acts of the English nation, as a nation, is the disinterested abolition of the African slave trade.

The events of modern times tend more and more to break down the barriers between the nations, to bring the ends of the earth together and to realize the unity and universality of the human race.

This we must steadily keep in view, if we would understand

the distinctive character and mission of the *American* nation, i. e., the people of the United States, who are emphatically called by that name, as the chief bearers of the historical life and future significance of the entire Western Continent.

In discussing this interesting topic, we shall avoid, of course, the whirlpool of party politics, and endeavor to rise above those violent sectional strifes, which, for some time past, have been and are still agitating our country on the question of the true nature of Americanism.

Of all the great nations of the earth none has entered into existence under more favorable auspices and prospects, none is better prepared and more clearly called to represent a compact, well defined and yet expansive, world-embracing nationality, than the American. Our motto: *E Pluribus Unum*, is an unconscious prophecy of our national character and destiny, as pointed out by the irresistible course of events and the indications of Providence. Out of many nations, yea out of all the nations of Christendom is to be gathered the one cosmopolitan nation of America on the strong and immovable foundation of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Those European writers are greatly mistaken, who represent the people of the United States as altogether destitute of a proper history and nationality, as a vague conflux simply of heterogeneous elements, and the weak echo of the old world. We have not only the elements, but the actual beginning of a strong nationality. We have a history, short it is true, but fraught with significant events. We have national monuments, such as Independence Hall, Bunker Hill, Mount Vernon, that "look like prophets and speak like oracles." We have national heroes, great in war and great in peace, patriots, statesmen and orators, from Washington and Franklin to Webster and Scott, of whom any nation might justly be proud. We have a constitution and a form of government, which has long commanded the admiration of the friends of liberty and progress, and attracts emigrants by thousands and millions from all parts of Europe. We have a common inheritance of glory and freedom, and a glowing patriotism that animates every son and daughter of the land. We have the promising beginning

of a national literature and an astonishing activity of the press, which is already exerting a marked influence upon public opinion abroad. We have a power of assimilation, which surpasses that of any other people. In general intelligence, wealth and prosperity, we need not be ashamed of a comparison with the leading powers of Europe; and while we are behind them in original creations of science and art, in the extent and value of universities, libraries, museums, and other institutions, which require centuries to be matured, we surpass them all in the rapidity of progress in every branch of life and action, and in bright prospects for the future.

At the same time, it is true, that we are the youngest of all the independent nations, that rank with the great powers. We have hardly entered upon the stage of youth. Our nationality is as yet in a process of formation and consolidation. It may be compared to the "Father of Waters" in his early youth, inviting the tributaries from the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains to swell his volume and to carry the wealth of nations on his majestic course of four thousand miles, through "the garden of the world," to the mouth of the boundless sea.

Let us now proceed to an analysis of the different elements, which enter into the composition of the American nationality and will, in their combined action, enable it to fulfil its great destiny.

It is evident to the most superficial observer that the basis of our national character is English. It is so, not only in language, but also in manners and customs, in our laws and institutions, in the structure of our domestic, political and ecclesiastical life, in our literature and religion. It is perfectly idle to think that this country will ever become German, or French, or Irish, or Dutch. Let them emigrate by hundreds of thousands from the continent of Europe, they will modify and enrich, but they can never destroy or materially change this Anglo-Saxon ground-element of the American people.

History pointed to such a result in its earliest dawn upon this western world. It is true, Spain dreamed herself at first the sole possessor of the "New World," and annexed to the

coat of arms which she assigned to Columbus and his family, the motto :

A Castilla y a Leon

Nuevo mundo dio Colon.

(To Castile and Leon

Columbus gave a new world.)

And Pope Alexander VI, in the exercise of the supreme politico-ecclesiastical power of the mediæval hierarchy, divided in 1493, the entire western hemisphere between the crowns of Spain and of Portugal. But Providence had decreed otherwise, and history soon set aside this hasty interference with its unalterable course. The northern part of this continent was first discovered by John and Sebastian Cabot in 1497, who sailed under a patent of Henry VII of England, and touched at Labrador and New Foundland one year before Columbus set foot on the mainland of South America. The territory of the United States especially, came from the start under English influence and was first successfully settled by English emigrants. The sturdy Puritans, who, since their landing on Plymouth Rock in 1620, and ten years later in Salem and Boston, gave tone and character to the six New England States, and whose descendants are the chief pioneers in our western States and territories; the loyal Episcopalians, who planted the first colony in the "Old Dominion" in 1607, and afterwards extended to Maryland, the Carolinas and Georgia; the liberal Catholics, who accompanied Leonard Calvert, brother of Lord Baltimore, to the shores of the Potomac in 1634, and wisely made the new settlement under the name of the consort of the unfortunate Charles I, an asylum for all Christians without distinction of name and sect; the peaceful Quakers, whom William Penn led to the Key-stone State in 1681—however different in their habits and opinions, spoke all the same tongue and came from the same Albion,

"That precious stone, set in the silver sea;
Which serves it in the office of the wall."

This English element instead of diminishing with the separation from the political control of the mother country, has constantly increased and long since become so powerful as to

exclude the possibility of a successful competition of any other nationality or language. It has assimilated to itself the Dutch settlers of New York and New Jersey, the Swedish colonists on the banks of the Delaware, the Spaniards in Florida, and is drawing more and more every day the French in Louisiana, the Germans and Irish in the middle and western States, into its irresistible current.

Upon the whole, we could not wish any better basis for our North American nationality and must regard it as a mark of the special favor of an all-ruling Providence to our country, which, for this very reason, is so far in advance on the older Spanish and Portuguese settlements of Central and South America.

For, of all the modern nations none is more solid, earnest, energetic, independent and progressive, none better adapted to colonize new countries in the West and to regenerate old empires in the East, than the English. Whatever may be their defects and sins, the world-wide power and influence of their little island-home is certainly one of the most remarkable phenomena in the annals of the human race and can only be accounted for on the ground of an extraordinary strength of intellect and character and an especial design of Providence, which has appointed them to be the pioneers of an enlightened Christianity and constitutional liberty on all the highways of commerce to the extremities of the inhabitable globe.

But with all due regard for good old England, America is by no means intended to be a mere copy or continuation of it. If our nationality, owing to its youth and the many foreign elements still entering into its composition, is less solid and compact, than that of our older brother, it is, on the other hand, more capable of expansion and development; it is composed of a greater variety of material and destined ultimately for more comprehensive ends by the Almighty Ruler of nations, who assigned us not an island but a continent for a home, and two oceans for a field of action.

If ever a nation was laid out on a truly cosmopolitan basis and gifted with an irresistible power of attraction, it is the American. Here where our globe ends its circuit, seems to

terminate the migration of the human race. To our shores they come in an unbroken stream from every direction. Even the tribes of Africa and Asia are largely represented amongst us and call our country their home. But whatever may be the ultimate fate of the red man, the negro and the Chinese, who are separated from us by the unsurmountable difference of race, it is evident that all the civilized nations of Europe, especially those of Germanic origin, have contributed and will continue to contribute to our stock. They meet here on the common ground of freedom and equality, to renew their youth and to commingle at last into one grand brotherhood, speaking one language, pervaded by one spirit, obeying the same laws, laboring for one aim, and filling in these ends of the earth the last and the richest chapter in the history of the world. As Europe is a great advance on the civilization of Asia, so we have reason to believe that America will be in the end a higher continuation of the consolidated life of Europe. The eyes of the East are instinctively turned to the West, and civilization follows the march of the sun.

The history of the colonization and growth of this country strongly support the view here taken. The descendants of England were indeed the chief, but by no means the only agents in the colonial period. The Dutch on the banks of the Hudson, the Swedes on the Delaware, the Germans in Pennsylvania and the neighboring States, the Huguenots in South Carolina, New York and Boston, were amongst our earliest and most useful settlers. In a more recent period Scotland, Ireland and all parts of Germany have made the largest contributions to our population. Florida, California and New Mexico are of Spanish origin. The French claimed once by right of exploration and partial occupation the immense central valley from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, and between the Alleghenies and the Rocky Mountain; and although these possessions have long since been ceded to England and the United States, the French element can never be entirely effaced on the banks of the lower Mississippi, or in Canada East.

In the revolutionary war the descendants of the Continen-

tal Europeans, especially the Germans of Pennsylvania and Virginia, in proportion to their number, fought with as much zeal and success and shed their blood as freely for the independence of the country as the Anglo-Americans. Some of them, as the Mühlenbergs and the Hiesters, acquired considerable distinction as officers of the army, or members of the first Congress.

But a number of our most eminent revolutionary heroes were not even native Americans, but came from different nations to offer us the aid of their means, their enthusiasm, their military skill and experience in the hour of trial. The Irish Montgomery died for us at the gates of Quebec. General Mercer, who fell in the battle of Princeton, was a native of Scotland. Kosciusko, the Pole, paid his early vows to liberty in our cause, and his countryman, Pulaski, perished for it at Savannah. The noble Germans, Baron de Kalb, who shared with Gaines the glory of capturing Burgoyne and fell in the battle of Camden in South Carolina, bleeding of seven wounds, and Steuben, the pupil of Frederic the Great, and the seven years' war, who left a handsome pension to serve his adopted country and helped to decide the day at Yorktown, crowned in the new world the high military reputation, which they had previously acquired in the old ; they were amongst the most experienced officers in the American army, and did it essential service, especially by training, with immense labor, the raw recruits, and preparing them for the victories of the battle-field. Our Congress knew well how to appreciate their merits, by erecting to the former a monument at Annapolis, and by voting to the latter a handsome annual pension, to which the legislatures of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York added large donations of land. France threw the weight of her powerful moral influence and material aid into our scale, and sent us the Count de Rochambeau, Baron de Viomenil, and especially the Marquis de Lafayette, the citizen of two worlds, whose name will be handed down to the latest American as well as French posterity, in inseparable connection with Washington. The West Indies gave us Alexander Hamilton, who fought gallantly in the war, and, after its conclusion, organized our

financial credit and took the most distinguished part in the formation and defence of our federal constitution, thus joining to the laurels of the battle-field the more enduring honors of peace, like his friend, the father of his country, whom we justly revere and love as "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Thus all the leading nations of Christendom were actively and honorably represented in the first settlement of our country, and in that great struggle, which resulted in the birth of a new nation, and thus they earned a title to a share in the blessings of its freedom.

Italy and Spain, combined in the persons of Columbus and Isabella, first opened America to the vision of the world. England gave us our language, common law, trial by jury, the spirit of constitutional liberty and the power of self-government. The sons of Germany, Holland, Sweden, France, Scotland, Ireland and Poland helped to plant our first colonies and to emancipate us from British rule. The United Provinces of the Netherlands and the republican confederation of Switzerland furnished the example of a federal union. Our arts are from genial Greece; our jurisprudence from imperial Rome; our common school system from Prussia; our literature is gathered from the remotest antiquity of the Mosaic records to the latest productions of English, German and French genius. And finally our dearest treasure, and the only safe-guard of our liberties, the Christian religion, was born in Palestine, and our Protestantism strikes its deepest roots in the land of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. Our country stands, therefore, even in its early history and constitution, to adopt the language of the distinguished historian of the United States, "more than any other, as the realization of the unity of the race."

When our country, after the close of the war of independence, and the critical period of the formation of a federal constitution, entered upon its peaceful career under a well organized republican government, in the same year, in which Europe was shaken to its very base by the French revolution, it pursued the wisest as well as the most liberal policy with regard to foreign emigration and has maintained it to this day.

True to its history from the earliest settlements, it offered a hospitable asylum to all the nations of the old world with a view to their benefit, and its own interest.

Our naturalization laws in connection with the advantages of a new country of boundless extent and untold resources, and the cramped and unsettled condition of Europe, called forth an emigration, which, after the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, has steadily increased and assumed the character of a peaceful migration of nations, so that our naturalized foreigners must now be counted by millions. The number of emigrants to the United States in 1820 was 5,993; in 1830, 23,074; in 1840, 83,504, in 1850, 279,980; in 1853, 368,643; in 1854, 460,474. Hence the almost fabulous growth of our Atlantic and Western cities, springing up like the creations of romance, and doubling their population in ten, or as in the case of Chicago, even in five years. Of these foreigners by far the greatest proportion come from Great Britain, especially Ireland, and from Germany. In 1854 the German immigrants alone amounted to 250,000, and the whole number of American Germans, including their English descendants, must now considerably exceed four millions.

In the last and the present year, the immigration has indeed fallen off considerably, owing to the Eastern war, now happily concluded, the high prices of provision and scarcity of employment, and especially also the rise of the anti-foreign and anti-Romanist party, which swept like a whirlwind over our country. This sudden decline of the influx of immigrants may be considered also as a natural and necessary reaction against its excess in previous years, especially in 1854, when the foreign food exceeded our powers of immediate digestion, and thus threatened to decay before our doors and to poison our atmosphere. But this reaction can only be temporary. European emigration, as well as the emigration of our own people from the Eastern to the Western States, cannot and will not be stopped, as little as the course of the Mississippi, or the march of the sun from the East to the West. The westward current of empire will go on, now larger, now smaller, according to the condition and wants of the times, until our immense territory

shall be fairly settled with a population answering in some measure, at least, the inexhaustible resources and the world-embracing destiny of America. "Whether for weal or woe," said an eminent American divine in the year 1849,* "the life of Europe is to be poured in upon our shores without restraint or stint, till it shall cause the ancient blood of the land to become in quantity a mere nothing in comparison. God is fast showing, by the stupendous course of His Providence, that this American Continent was designed from the start, not for the use of a single race, but for the world at large. Here room has been provided, with all the outward necessary conditions, for the organization of a new order of life, that may be as broad and universal as the soil it shall cover; and now the material out of which it is to be formed, the elements that are needed for such world-embracing constitution, are made to flow together from every side, for the purpose of being wrought into a new nationality which shall at last adequately represent the whole."

But here the question arises, Do we not lose more by this immigration, in the purity of our national character, than we gain in numerical strength? Is there no danger to be apprehended to our civil and religious liberties from a population, a considerable part of which was brought up under the influence of superstition and political and ecclesiastical despotism? Are not all the vices and infidelity of old Europe flowing in amongst us to swell the muddy stream already so fearfully large, of our native corruption? Is it not high time, therefore, to modify at least our naturalization laws and to require a longer preparation for admission to the rights of citizenship?

In answer to these objections, we must first freely admit that a considerable proportion of our foreign population is taken from the most ignorant and most neglected classes of European society. Not a few of them have left their country for their country's good, and would, so far as their influence goes, overthrow the very foundations of Church and State and resolve society into anarchy and chaos. It is even charged

* *Mercersburg Review*, Vol. I, p. 32.

upon some governments of Europe—I do not know with how much reason—that they empty their poor houses and prisons into our country, as Spain unwisely did in the earliest settlements of the West Indies and the South. Such an insulting abuse of our hospitality would certainly justify prompt and vigorous measures of remonstrance and repulsion on the side of the general government and the authorities of our sea ports. For every society has certainly a right and a duty to protect itself with all proper means against pernicious influences, which threaten its dissolution.

But supposing even the number of bad elements in our foreign population to be larger than it actually is, there is really less danger to be apprehended from this direction, than from our strictly domestic difficulties, e. g., the single question of slavery. The political influence of naturalized foreigners is almost entirely confined to the ballot box, where their votes are always cast in favor of one of our leading parties, which will ever be controlled by native American statesmen and politicians. To deprive them of their political rights and repel them by unkindness, would only make them enemies in our own household. The noblest and most successful way to remedy the evil and avert the danger, arising from a part of our foreign population in our larger cities, is a vigorous execution of our laws, an increased activity of our benevolent societies, and the spread of education, virtue and religion. Let us make the foreigners good Christians, and we are sure to make them good citizens. The great change which they have undergone, the new relations and circumstances in which they are placed, are well calculated to open their minds and hearts to the work of home evangelization, and many of them have been reformed in America, who would have died in the prisons or on the gallows of Europe.

Secondly, we must consider the youthful vitality of our country, which is fully able to control the foreign influence and to turn it into the channel of its own national life and general welfare. What might do great injury to an old nation, is assimilated with astonishing rapidity by the American republic and taken up into its organism, or at least made harm-

less by being scattered over our immense territory. Those noisy and unruly demagogues and infidels, who made so much trouble in Germany, France and Italy in 1848 and 1849, have either sunk into perfect obscurity amongst us, or become quiet citizens, and even if they should retain their foreign feelings and habits and cherish a hatred to our institutions, their children and children's children will inevitably be flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. Thus all foreign emigration only adds to our native strength and resources, and the number and influence of foreigners decreases every year in proportion to the rapid increase of our native born population. It shows a great want of faith in our national vigor and institutions, to suppose that they can ever be overthrown, or even materially changed by foreign influence. America will always be governed by Americans. They are fully able to do it, and any attempt of strangers to wrest this right, so dearly bought in the war of independence, from them, would only prove their fitness for Bedlam. Not unfrequently foreigners, who emigrate from love to our institutions, become the most patriotic Americans, as proselytes are generally the most zealous members of the sect which they join from inward conviction.

But finally, it should not be forgotten, that the great mass of European emigrants, after all, come to our shores to make an honest livelihood, and prove a valuable addition to our national strength and prosperity. They bring millions of money into the country, and are a powerful element in the development of its physical and intellectual resources. Without them, the United States would hardly contain one third of their present population. Without them our progress would be most materially retarded. The immigrants help us to clear our woods; to till our soil; to work our mines; to dig our canals; to build our railroads and steamboats; to enlarge our cities and villages; to increase our domestic comforts; to fill the ranks of our army and navy, and in the hour of danger to fight our battles; to extend our commerce; to adorn our society; and to promote learning, virtue and religion.

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before us, there is no cause to discourage immigration. Let this continent of land continue to attract another continent crowded with men, that they may thus both prove a blessing to each other. How could we cherish a proscriptive spirit without striking at the fundamental creed and glory of our institutions? How could we indulge in hatred of foreigners and shut the gate to the stranger, without insulting the memory of our own fathers and of the fathers of this country? Let us never forget the sacred trust of civil and religious liberty committed to us; never forget our past history, and our comprehensive destiny. Ourselves the children of the pilgrims of a former generation, let us welcome the pilgrims of the present day, and open a hospitable asylum to the oppressed and persecuted of every Christian nation. Favored by the free gift of Providence with a territory, almost as large as Europe, and capable of sustaining ten times the amount of our present population, let us cordially invite and encourage the immigrants, till prairies and forests, and mountains and valleys resound with the songs of living men and the praises of God.

Here are our millions of acres stretching towards the setting sun and teeming with hidden wealth, that must be made available for the benefit of society. Here is room enough for all the science, learning, art, wisdom, virtue and religion of Europe, that transplanted into a virgin soil and breathing the atmosphere of freedom, they may bring forth new blossoms and fruit and open a new epoch in the onward march of civilization. Here is the general congress of the noblest nations of Christendom, the sterling, energetic Briton; the strong-willed, enterprising Scotch; the hard-working, generous Irish; the industrious, deep-thinking German; the honest, liberty-loving Swiss; the hardy, thrifty Scandinavian; the even-tempered, tenacious Dutch; the easy, elegant Frenchman; the earnest, dignified Spaniard; the ingenious, imaginative Italian; the patriotic, high-minded Magyar and Pole,—that they might renew their youth, and laying aside their prejudices and defects and uniting their virtues, may commingle into the one American nation, the freest, the most enlightened, the most comprehensive of all, the nation of the new world, the nation of the future.

We should not be surprised, that hostile collisions take place occasionally between the different nationalities of our land in this their present transition state. For the process of amalgamation has hardly begun; but it is going on with wonderful rapidity, which seems to increase in the new settlements of the western states. In an old country like Hungary, we find the greatest variety of races, Magyars, Germans, Slovacks, Wallacks, Croats, Servians, Illyrians and Wends, speaking as many tongues, without any real process of amalgamation. In Switzerland three languages and nationalities live peacefully together without making any inroad upon each other. The Alsace is still predominantly German, although nearly two hundred years incorporated with France. England, with all its national power, has not been able yet to assimilate to itself the Irish Celt. But in our Republic, one generation, and sometimes a few years, are sufficient to engraft the new branches upon the Anglo-Saxon stem, and to make them partake of the life of the root. And all this is done not by outward pressure and compulsion, as in Russia, which, likewise, tends to russify every nationality and language in its vast dominions, but by the youthful vitality of our system and the silent operation of our free institutions.

The English nationality is a striking illustration of the fact, that different races can coalesce into one and produce something higher and better than the separate elements of which it is composed. For it is a mixture and cross of at least three stocks. The Briton, or a branch of that Celtic race, which, long before Christ moved westward from central Asia, constitutes, as it were, the root of the English people, still lives in their fearless boldness and love of independence, and gives the name to the empire, "Britannia,"

"Whose march is o'er the mountain-wave.

Whose home is on the deep."

The Anglo-Saxon, one of the most vigorous shoots of the great Germanic or Teutonic family, forms the main stem, which supports the branches and supplies them with strength and nourishment. But it has itself been ennobled and fertilized in the eleventh century by a Norman graft from sunny

France. Hence also the English language has received contributions from the noblest ancient and modern tongues, and is, for this very reason, better calculated than any other, to become more and more the language of the world.*

A similar process of commingling of nations is now going on in our country, but on a much more comprehensive scale, and under more favorable conditions, on the basis of the time-honored civilization of Europe, with richer material, and consequently also, with the promise of a greater result. As in ancient Corinth, the accidental fusion of all the metals accumulated in the temples, produced a new metal better than any of its component parts, either silver or gold; so we may fairly suppose, that the providential fusion of all the nations of Christendom on this fertile soil of North America, will result ultimately in a race that will surpass all other nations, either Saxons, or Celt, or Germans, or French.

It is not sufficient, of course, that the outward material simply, be gathered from all lands, but it must be worked up into the inward constitution and be converted into one flesh and and blood. It must not be a mixture merely, but an organic union and reproduction of the several reigning elements under a new and universal form. The result must be, not abstract

* I cannot refrain from quoting, in this connection, the remarkable eulogy pronounced on the English language by the great German philologist, Jacob Grimm, of Berlin, in the following passage, (*Ueber den Ursprung der deutschen Sprache*, 1852, page 60):

“Keine unter allen neueren Sprachen hat gerade durch das Aufgeben und Zerrütten aller Lautgesetze, durch den Wegfall beinahe sämtlicher Flexionen eine grössere Kraft und Stärke empfangen, als die englische, und von ihrer nicht einmal lehrbaren, nur lernbaren Fülle freier Mitteltöne ist eine wesentliche Gewalt des Ausdruckes abhängig geworden, wie sie vielleicht noch nie einer menschlichen Zunge zu Gebote stand. Ihre ganze, überaus geistige, wunderbar glückliche Anlage und Nachbildung war hervorgegangen aus einer überraschenden Vermählung der beiden edelsten Sprachen des späteren Europa's, der germanischen und romanischen, und bekannt ist, wie im Englischen sich beide zu einander verhalten, indem jene bei weitem die sinnliche Grundlage hergab, diese die geistigen Begriffe zuführte. An Reichthum, Vernunft und gedrängter Fuge lässt sich keine aller noch lebenden Sprachen ihr an die Seite setzen. Da die englische Sprache, von der nicht umsonst auch der grösste und überlegenste Dichter der neuen Zeit, im Gegensatz zur classischen alten Poesie—ich kann natürlich nur Shakspeare meinen—geseugt und getragen worden ist, sie darf mit vollem Rechte eine Weltsprache heissen und scheint gleich dem englischen Volke ausersiehen, künftig noch in höherem Maasse an allen Enden der Erde zu walten.”

Americanism, or any particularism over against the other members of the civilized world, but such an incorporation of the true substance of the past history of Europe into the American character, as may fairly and fully qualify it to represent the unity and universality of civilized and Christianized humanity.

The destiny and mission of such a cosmopolitan nation can hardly be estimated. It must be majestic as our rivers, magnificent as the Niagara Falls, lofty as the Rocky Mountains, vast as our territory, deep as the two oceans around it, far-reaching as the highways of commerce that already carries our name and influence to the remotest regions of the globe. History points to a boundless future before it, and nothing can prevent it from filling the most important pages in the annals of coming centuries than its own unfaithfulness to its providential trust.

It is a remarkable play of history, that sometimes its first beginnings, even in the shape of superstition and incidental error, foreshadow the end. The first Adam was a type and prophecy of the second Adam, who is the desire of all nations and of every human heart. The very name of Abraham pointed to his countless spiritual posterity and the Messianic blessings that should flow from his seed upon the nations of the earth. The future conquests of ancient Rome were indicated in her very name, which means strength, and in the fable of her founders, the sons of Mars who sucked at the breasts of the she-wolf. The reader of the life of Columbus will remember, that the great discoverer, although entirely mistaken as to the geographical position of the new world, and tenaciously holding to the fancy that he had only touched the extreme Eastern borders of Asia, that Hispaniola was the ancient Ophir visited by the ships of Solomon, and that there was a land-route from Cuba to Spain, viewed his enterprise from the loftiest position and connected with it the boldest designs which transcended the capacities of Spain and his age, as well as his own powers of execution.

It was especially the universal triumph of the Christian religion that entered deeply into his scheme. "He looked upon

himself," says Washington Irving,* "as standing in the hand of heaven chosen from among men for the accomplishment of its high purpose; he read, as he supposed, his contemplated discovery foretold in Holy Writ, and shadowed forth darkly in the mystic revelations of the prophets. The ends of the earth were to be brought together, and all nations and tongues and languages united under the banners of the Redeemer. This was to be the triumphant consummation of his enterprise, bringing the remote and unknown regions of the earth into communion with Christian Europe; carrying the light of the true faith into benighted and Pagan lands, and gathering their countless nations under the holy dominion of the Church." His sanguine and pious hopes brought even the deliverance of the holy sepulchre from infidel desecration into connection with the discovery of the western world. He suggested it to the Spanish sovereigns at the time he first made his propositions, and after his return from the West Indies, flushed with the prospects of the vast wealth now to accrue to himself, he solemnly vowed to furnish, within seven years, an army, consisting of four thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot, and a similar force within the five following years, for the conquest of the consecrated soil of the Saviour and the birth-place of Christianity. Thus a holy crusade was to be the consummation of those divine purposes for which he considered himself a chosen agent in the hands of Providence.

Perhaps these visionary projects may, after all, be fulfilled, without a crusade, of course, and in a far better and more spiritual form than Columbus dreamed. America must become one of the high-ways of Europe to the mysterious wealth of Asia, a bridge of nations, a thoroughfare of the march of commerce, freedom, civilization and religion. The settlement of the Western question and the fulfilment of the providential mission of the new world must materially affect the final settlement of the Eastern question and the ultimate fate of the old world. Our growing commerce, the example of our institutions, our press, with its flood of books, pamphlets and periodi-

* *The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, Vol. I, p. 58 and 54.

cal, are already a power for good or for evil in the public opinion of Europe, especially of Great Britain, and a thousand personal ties bind our people to all the nations of Christendom. Our Churches lend a helping hand to every noble enterprise, and will take more and more an active part in the Christianization and civilization of the barbarian tribes of Africa, the vast empires of China and Japan, and the regeneration of the stagnant Churches and sects in Asia, the cradle of the human race and of our holy religion. Thus it is no idle dream or vain conceit to look forward to a time when North America will be, in some sense, the centre of the world, the middle kingdom between Europe and Asia, the great beating heart of humanity itself, sending out the life blood of nations to the extremities of the earth and gathering them into one vast brotherhood of interest and love.

History so far has moved from East to West, from the rising to the setting sun. But the last triumph of this law, which alone is sufficient to secure an eminent place to America for the future, will perhaps be its abrogation. For when history shall have fairly erected its central stage of action on the magnificent theatre of the new world to perform its last and crowning scenes, the extreme ends of the civilized world will be brought together by the power of steam and electricity, the wonderful achievements of modern science, the leveling influences of the press and public opinion, and the more silent, but deeper and stronger workings of the everlasting Gospel. Then Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia will celebrate with America, as one family, the inauguration of the millennium of righteousness and peace, to the glory of Him who made them all and redeemed them all, and whose Kingdom shall have no end.

Such high views on the destiny of our nation, so far from nourishing the spirit of vanity and self-glorification, ought rather to humble and fill us with a deep sense of our responsibility to the God of nations, who entrusted us with a great mission for the world and the Church, not from any superior excellency of our own, but from free choice and an inscrutable decree of infinite wisdom. Nor should we forget, that there are careful tendencies and dangers growing up in our national life,

which threaten to unfit us for our work and to expose us to the judgment of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, who is not bound to any particular human instrumentality, but can raise a new generation on the ruins of our own to carry out His designs. It is only in steady view of these dangers, and by an earnest struggle against evil temptations, that we can at all succeed and accomplish the great ends for which Providence has called us into existence.

Young as our nation is, it has already given ample proof of the awful corruption of human nature in its social as well as individual capacity. There is a false Americanism as well as a true one, and tendencies to dissolution reveal themselves along with the elements of consolidation. The revolutionary period already produced two opposite orders of men, the traitor Arnold, the infidel Paine, and the profligate Burr, in ominous contrast with Washington, Franklin and Hamilton, and the former would as certainly have ruined us by their sordid vices, as the latter saved us by their noble virtues. The last few years were uncommonly fruitful in developing the diseases in the youthful organism of our political and social life, and in revealing the dangers which threaten the peace and prosperity of our beloved country.

I will pass by, as less important, the rapid growth of the wildest extravagance and luxury, so dangerous to a republic, and that contemptible mush-room aristocracy, whose only boast is glittering gold, unable to conceal the native vulgarity; the many popular delusions and humbugs, from the spiritual rappings down to the baby-shows; the sophomorical self-glorifications of our fourth-of-July-orators, who set all governments and society of the old world aside, as a great failure, without knowing the alphabet of his tory; the aping of the worst follies of Europe in strange connection with an affected contempt of all monarchies and courts; the inordinate passion for offices, and childish fondness for empty titles that has blessed us with so many generals without a division, colonels without a regiment, captains without a company, corporals without a guard, physicians without patients, lawyers without cases, judges without a bench, ministers without charges, professors with-

out a chair, doctors without learning, and which may give us after a while a speaker without a Congress, since we had already for two months a Congress without a speaker, not to mention many other follies and weaknesses which abound in all sections of the country.

But what shall we say of the more serious moral and social evils, which seem to multiply so rapidly on our soil? I need only remind you of the wild and radical tendencies of our youth; the fillibuster spirit which scorns all international laws and rights, and meets only with too much sympathy even among members of Congress; the piratical schemes of our manifest-destinarians, who would swallow, in one meal, Cuba, all Central America, Mexico and Canada into the bargain; the growing rowdyism, and its humiliating influence upon the selection of candidates for high offices; the bloody election riots, that have recently disgraced our leading cities; the utter recklessness of human life, which fills the newspapers so often with heart-rending details of railroad and steamboat disasters; the unbridled passion for the almighty dollar, which fosters a mean and heartless utilitarianism and tends to extinguish all nobler aspirations of the human mind; the bitter party spirit in politics, and sectarianism in religion, which arrays brother against brother and violates truth and justice at every step; the speculative steamboat explosions, the Mississippi repudiations, and the multiplication of dishonest failures and gigantic frauds of public officers upon the people; the alarming number of murders and crimes, and the cowardly fear of many of our Courts of justice to punish them as they deserve; the host of political adventurers and unprincipled demagogues, who disgrace our legislative halls, and sacrifice the interests of the nation to their sordid ambition; the shameless briberies practised in our highest seats of national trust; the protracted disorganization of Congress itself, which, a few months ago brought the principle of representative government into danger and disrepute; the barbarous outrages in Kansas, which—no matter where the greatest guilt lies—must excite the just indignation of all friends of order and liberty; the unmeasured violence and low personalities of recent Con-

gressional debates, and the bloody desecration of the national Senate Chamber, which has no parallel in the annals of constitutional government, and causes the hearts of all patriots and Christians to weep; and finally the whole pro-slavery, and anti-slavery agitation, which grows more bitter and fearful every day and darkens our horizon with the terrible prospects of civil war and a dissolution of our union and strength.

I allude to these painful facts, not as a partisan, of course, but as an observer; not as a sectionalist, but as an American, with a sincere love for the whole country from Maine to Florida. No wonder, that, in view of the history of the last two years and the present critical aspect of affairs, some of our ablest and most experienced statesmen begin to look despondingly into the future and to entertain "the gloomy doubt"—I quote the words spoken a few days ago, by the Hon. Edward Everett from the tomb, as it were, of the venerable father of this country—"whether the toils, the sacrifices and the sufferings our fathers endured for the sake of founding a purer and a freer civilization on this Western Continent than the world had yet seen, have not been endured in vain."

Are we really in danger of losing our crown? Is our nationality to rot before it is ripe? Shall the great Anglo-Saxon Republic decay before it reaches the stage of manhood and add another proof to the gloomy reflection of the British poet:

"There is the moral of all human tales;
'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past;
First freedom, and then glory—when that fails,
Wealth, vice, corruption—barbarism at last."

Or are these various signs of degeneracy and corruption merely the wild oats of the young giant, who will in due time learn better manners and settle down upon the sober and peaceful discharge of his proper duties? Are they diseases, not of the heart, but of the skin only, the skum on the surface, a passing cloud, which may darken our immediate prospects, but cannot affect our ultimate destiny?

We cheerfully embrace the second alternative, mindful of the old Roman practice never to despair of the commonwealth, not even in the darkest days of defeat and humiliation. We

may lose confidence in men, but not in humanity; in legislators and judges, but not in law and justice; in governors and presidents, but not in government and liberty. We may condemn and deplore single actions and events, but we dare not despair of history. We may fear for the present, but must hope for the future.

For God rules supreme in infinite wisdom and mercy, and makes even the wrath of man to praise Him: He delivered us from greater dangers than those that now surround us, and will not forsake us, until He has accomplished all His purposes of wisdom through our instrumentality.

But the American people, too, whatever may be said of many of their representatives, are sound at heart; they instinctively condemn those follies and vices; they have in themselves all the vital powers of a vigorous organism, which will work off, we trust, the diseases and excesses incident upon its luxuriant growth.

In view, then, of our past history, which abounds in manifestations of divine favor; in view of the boundless resources of our country, which were certainly not created in vain; and in view of the indications of Providence, both in the old and the new world, and their mutual relations, which point to the Continent of the West as the land of promise and the path of empire, we may well take courage and look hopefully to the future, ever cherishing a pure patriotism and exalted philanthropy, an ardent love of freedom and deep regard for law, fearing God and loving righteousness, pressing forward and onward to the crowning triumphs of Christianity and civilization, and making us a name that shall carry the blessings of peace to the ends of the earth and be pronounced with reverence and gratitude by the latest generations.

ART. II.—REV. JACOB LISCHY.

IN that singularly chaotic period of the German religious life in America, in which date the regular organization and early struggles of the Reformed, Lutheran and Moravian communions, there is no man whose life is more interesting than that of Rev. Jacob Lischy. This "Schweitzer Prediger," has been a standing anomaly and puzzle to all who have glanced now and then, here and there, into the annals of the olden time. He neither began nor ended his course in the German Reformed Church. His appearance in it was like that of a comet in more than one respect—brilliant, but irregular and wild, moving carelessly around some hidden centre—and singularly like a comet, too, in being followed by a trail of consequences occupying a larger space than he did himself. Though the German Reformed Church is in no way responsible either for his good or his evil, yet he occupies a large and important space in her early history. We have attempted, in this article, to bring some order out of what has seemed hopeless confusion, and trust we have found the thread, crooked and knotty as it may be, which gives some kind of unity to his singularly erratic and eventful life. Hoping that the reader believes with us that this kind of historical inquiry has been too long neglected in the German Churches, we respectfully ask him to follow us whilst

"We trace the tale
To the dim spot where records fail."

In the month of March, 1748, Rev. Jacob Lischy paid a visit to Dr. Muhlenberg, on which occasion he gave an account of himself thus: "After he had been awakened,* from his

* Under the preaching of the Brethren in Mühlhausen and Basel. [Reich in Schaff's Kirchenfreund, 1849, p. 102.]

fourteenth year on, he had become acquainted in his Fatherland with some awakened souls, and at length also with some Moravians; and by their sweet teaching concerning reconciliation and the lovely harmony which seemed to reign among them, he was led to think that they must be the best people in the world. He had visited their most prominent places in Germany, such as Herrnhut, Marienborn, and had also, in connection with them, come to Pennsylvania. The Moravian communion had empowered him as a Reformed preacher,* and used him in their plans, but still he had never been regarded as a full brother. When he had for several years preached among the Reformed in various places, and been the instrument, by preaching and personal intercourse, of awakening some souls, he also attended the Brethren-conferences. Some of his hearers insisted that he should honestly say, whether he was a brother of the Moravians? These also several times demanded of him he should say, whether he was willing to labor in all their plans? In this way he had for some time hung between both; till at length three written questions, which he should answer, were sent him from Bethlehem; as, Whether he wished in future to be regarded as, 1st a Natural Brother of the Moravian communion, or 2nd, A Friend, or 3rd, An Enemy. This induced him to set a time to pay a visit to Bethlehem, in order that he might, once for all, properly examine their affairs, in their connection and in an impartial spirit, and come to a decision. After he had been there several weeks, had prayed to God secretly that he might enlighten him, impartially considered their affairs, but also heard from Bishop Cammerhof very blasphemous expressions in public sermons, and in private conversations experienced nothing but offensive things; he took leave, and renounced his previous connection with them. The most prominent among them, especially Spangenberg, had made the utmost efforts to retain him, but he could do nothing else but cherish towards them a

* He was not a minister when he came to this country. After he was brought under the influence of Zinzendorf, he was, by his suggestion and request, ordained by David Nitchman and Anthony Seifert.—[Rev. Levin T. Reichel in Schaff's *Kirchenfreund*, 1849, page 101.]

general tender love; and that he first of all, felt himself induced to publish a declaration, expressed in mild terms, and to show why he had felt constrained to withdraw from their communion. Should they, on the contrary, as they are wont, reply with abuse and falsehood, he had yet much in store with which he could expose their nakedness and shame. I reminded him in love how greatly he had sinned, in secretly standing in communion with these people, and yet several times in his sermons had protested to his poor Reformed hearers that he was no Moravian Brother. He did not deny that he had committed much sin, and been the cause of much injury; but that he would pray to God for grace and pardon, and that he would create in him a clean heart and renew a right spirit within him. He said farther, that now he stood alone, and it was natural to suppose that the Brethren would invent and publish all kinds of reasons and motives which induced him to leave them; he asked, therefore, that we would embrace him in our prayers, that God would manifest in him the abundance of his grace and mercy, protect him against a fall, and bestow upon him power in the conflict with Satan and his wiles. For should he now commit the least error, the Brethren would trumpet it before all the world and say: Here now you see the reason why Jacob Lischy could not remain with us! After this he had his Declaration printed, and united himself with the Reformed ministers sent in by the Classis of Holland. He lives near the Pennsylvania line on the other side of the Susquehanna, where he has bought a piece of land, and serves several congregations."*

Such is Lischy's own account of himself, and of his connection with the Brethren, which became to him a source of much perplexity and trouble for many years. This report must, however, not be read without keeping in mind a full view of the position of Lischy at the time he made it, as well as that of Dr. Muhlenberg and the Brethren. This done, it will be found that our impression of the apparent craftiness on the one side, and the seemingly harsh judgment on the other, will be greatly modified.

* Hal. Nach. pp. 262, 263, 264.

It must be evident to any one who, with an impartial spirit, goes over the historical ground of that period, that Zinzendorf, in his mission to America, and in his early labors, from his arrival in 1741 onward, was moved largely, if not entirely, by a truly sincere, disinterested, and catholic spirit. This is especially true of the first years of his work. He was deeply penetrated with the sentiment, that all who are truly pious, are one in Christ Jesus, and that they ought to be one also in zeal and coöperation for the general good of the kingdom of grace. Especially was he deeply persuaded that this should be the case amid the scattered and spiritually destitute Germans of this new world. His favorite idea, and that toward the realization of which, he directed his earliest and most undivided labors, was the formation of "a congregation of God in the spirit." * On this ground he desired to raise the standard of grace and peace, crying into the wilderness of barrenness and dark confusion, "Hither, all who belong unto the Lord!"

Around this standard, so beautiful in theory, but so difficult to realize, as time proved, a number of Reformed, Lutherans, and pious members of some of the smaller German communions, were already in heart enlisted. Henry Antes, an intelligent and pious layman of the Reformed Church, in Frederick township, had before imbibed this spirit and devoted much zeal and influence in its favor. Rev. Johannes Bechtel, as early as 1726 a German Reformed minister in Germantown, being of like spirit, also gave his heart, mind and influence to a scheme which looked toward such a result.

Thus there had been a movement in this direction independent of Zinzendorf, and previous to his arrival, which prepared the way, and if it did not suggest the idea to him, at least strengthened him in it, and encouraged him to hope and labor for its realization. † As early as 1736, a certain John Adam Gruber, formerly of the sect of the so-called Inspired, had sent out a call to "the awakened

* "Eine Gemeine Gottes im Geist."

† "It ought to be borne in mind, that Count Zinzendorf was neither the author nor advisor of these meetings at Germantown, but as he expressed it, "Pennsylvanians who had become tired of their own ways."—[Rev. Reichel in Moravian Miscellany, Vol. I, page 266.]

souls scattered here and there in Pennsylvania, to a new organization of union and communion in prayer."* This call directed the thoughts of many toward this subject; and as early as 1789, the feeling thus awakened, had already manifested itself in special efforts toward its realization.† On the 15th of December, 1741, Henry Antes sent out a circular calling the first meeting at Germantown; which, accordingly, met Jan. 1, 1742. Six more Synods of this character were held previous to June, of the same year, in different parts of Eastern Pennsylvania. At the seventh Synod "the congregation of God in the spirit," was founded. Zinzendorf identified himself with this movement, and became in a degree the soul of it. In time, difficulties arose in the practical workings of this union. Some of the smaller sects, such as Swenkfelders, Dunkers, and Mennonites, gradually withdrew their sympathy. Meanwhile, in 1742, Dr. Muhlenberg arrived in the country, commissioned to organize and bring under the original ecclesiastical Lutheran order, the scattered Lutheran churches in the land. His work brought him in conflict with this union movement, the basis of which his commission did not allow him to approve. Thus some Lutherans withdrew, while others remained with the union. In like manner, in 1746, Schlatter arrived, commissioned to consolidate the scattered Reformed congregations in their original order, doctrines and worship. This was again a draught upon the union movement from another side. Those that remained with the union, of the Lutheran, Reformed, and others, were gradually regarded as being under the influence of Moravianism; and Zinzendorf, and those who with him labored to sustain the union, were charged with harboring the secret motive of drawing Lutheran and Reformed ministers and churches over to Moravianism. This suspicion increased, as the union became year after year, by the force of circumstances, more prominently, prevailingly and decidedly Moravian.

* Rev. Reichel in Schaff's *Kirchenfreund*, 1849, p. 103, 104.

† See Heinrich Antes Circular-Schreiben, dated Dec. 15, 1741: "So ist man schon wohl zwei Jahr oder mehr damit umgegangen, ob's nicht möglich wäre eine Allgemeine Versammlung anzustellen." *Büd. Samml.*, Vol. II, p. 722, 723.

Though at the time when this union movement commenced, there was as yet no Moravian congregation in Pennsylvania, yet at the time of its seventh meeting, in June, 1742, Zinzendorf founded one at Bethlehem. A colony of "Moravian Pilgrims," that had arrived at Philadelphia on the 7th of June, a few days before the Synod, made application to be received into the spiritual connection of the "congregation of God in the spirit"—and a vote having been taken, all were permitted to enter.* Thus, at length, was that movement which was designed, honestly, we believe, to take a wider range, narrowed down into the nucleus of the Brethren church in this country. Henceforth Bethlehem, and the union Synods which were still continued, became centres from which preachers and teachers went forth all over Pennsylvania to gather souls into the "congregation of God in the spirit." In this work Lischy was enlisted. This explains his position—showing, on the one hand, how and why, while he stood in this union, he was suspected and accused of being secretly a Moravian when he preached among the Reformed: and also, on the other hand, how and why he himself, as of Reformed origin and sympathies, withdrew from the union, when in the lapse of a few years, and by force of circumstances, it became distinctively Moravian. Thus the zeal which was manifested on the one side was not a spirit of proselytism in favor of the Brethren, but only a zeal to keep up the union; and those Reformed ministers who held their Reformed predilections subordinate to this union while it yet stood on its original ground, are not to be regarded as guilty of duplicity and secret conspiracy to rob the Reformed Church of ministers, churches and members, but must be regarded as honestly laboring to sustain the interest in whose bosom they stood. It is also easy to see how this anomalous state of things would naturally give rise to misunderstandings and harsh judgments—accounting fully for the severe language of Lischy in withdrawing from the body, which under his eye, and during his ardent interest in it, had, as we have said, by the force of circumstances, gradually changed its entire character.

* Rev. Reichel, in *Moravian Miscellany*, Vol. I, p. 271.

Having found this hasty statement, as underlying the whole position of Lischy, necessary to a proper understanding of his seemingly versatile and inconsistent course, we now proceed with the narrative of his life.

Lischy having at first been brought in this way into connection with the "congregation of God in the spirit," as a layman, was by them ordained in January, 1743, as a minister, and sent out from Bethlehem to preach in various parts of Pennsylvania, especially among the Reformed, under the direction of Zinzendorf, and very frequently in company with him.

In December, 1742, Count Zinzendorf, in passing, spent a short time in Lancaster county. He preached in private houses in Warwick township, where Litiz now is, and also in the Court House in Lancaster. The people were much interested and moved by his preaching, and desired that he should send them a minister who should preach to them in the same spirit. He sent them the Rev. Jacob Lischy, who preached for some time in this region, and especially at Muddy Creek and at Kiesel's farm. "As Lischy had been brought up in the Reformed Church, before he came over to the Brethren communion, his sermons were received with special favor by the Reformed members in the neighborhood, and many came to hear him. The consequence was that a great awakening began among them."* This seems to have been his first field of operation after his ordination.

Being a close, warm-hearted, "gifted and approved preacher," he made an impression wherever he went; and received call after call to settle and become the pastor of Reformed congregations, to which, however, at this time he did not yield, preferring, as it would seem, a kind of evangelist life. Among others, he received a call, dated April 10, 1743, to Coventry township, Chester county, where he preached with effect.†

* Biene, Vol. II, No. 14.

† We give a copy of this call:

"Vocation der Reformirten Vorsteher an Br. Jacob Lischy zu dero Lehrer.

Diowellen uns auf unser Begehren und Gesuch der Ehrwürdig Herr Jacob Lischy als Reformirter Prediger in unserer Gegend und Nachbarschaft

In the same year we hear of him in the counties of Berks and what is now Lebanon, then a part of Lancaster.* "In 1743, the Rev. Jacob Lischy, whom Count Zinzendorf has sent out from Bethlehem, came into this region"—Hebron, near Lebanon, "and preached, as opportunity was afforded, in churches and private houses, and took care of the awakened souls in Berks and Lancaster counties."†

The general Synod of the "congregation of God in the spirit," was so constituted as to allow of different types, or modes (*Tropus*, as Zinzendorf designated it) of Christianity in its bosom, but under its general supervision. Thus, for instance, the Reformed and Lutheran Churches were to stand in connection with the Unity mediately under a special conference or consistorium.‡ This left to the Reformed section consider-

eine Predigt gehalten, und wir gefunden, dass der Zweck seiner Predigt, mit dem Zweck seiner an uns übersandten Declaration völlig überein kam; wir auch zum Theil etwas an unsern Herten gefühlt, und wir glauben, dass sein Sinn rechtschaffen, finden es auch höchst nöthig und nützlich, dass wir einen solchen Lehrer, dem es um das Heil unserer und unserer Kinder zu thun ist, annehmen; vociren und berufen den ihm gedachten Herrn Jacob Lischy, hiedurch, als im Namen des grossen Erzhirten Jesu Christi zu unserem ordentlichen Lehrer und Prediger, in unserer Gemeinde, uns die Lehre Jesu Christi und die heiligen Sacramenta zu unserer und unserer Familien Segen mitzutheilen, deswegen wir uns mit unserer Namen willig und von Herten unterschrieben haben.

Phillip Breitenstein, Johannes Schoder, Johannes Frey, Nicholas Körper, Christian Strohm, Veltzen Scheidecker, Conrad Reffion, Michael Yaony, Simeon Schneek, Jacob Karl, Johannes Neydick, Caspar Büchner, Conrad Walther, Heinrich Möller, Gerhart Brambach, Heinrich Bühner, Johannes Carl, Johannes Hubel, Conrad Seibert, Friedrich Funck, Jacob Freymann, Johannes Paul, Henry Freys, Melchior Koch, Samuel Esch, Johannes Clauer, Albertus Ehrenwein, Friedrich Möller, Adam Schött, Wilhelm Adam, Adam Stein, Heinrich Böhr, Lorents Puffenbach.

Coventry Township, den 10 April, 1743.

Es liegt 36 Mile ob Phila. an der Schuylkill, wo noch kein Bruder gewesen ist. So hab ich noch etliche Vocationen mit eben so viel und noch mehr Namen, die mich gebeten, dieselbe anzunehmen." Bidding. Samml., Vol. 3, p. 109, 110.

* He received calls similar to that to Coventry, from the Reformed congregations of Heidelberg, Bern, Mühlbach, Moden creek, Berwick and other places.—[Rev. L. T. Reichel in Schaff's Kirchenfreund, 1849, p. 101.]

† "Die Biene," gedruckt in Bethlehem, July 1, 1843.—Band. III, No. 14.

‡ "Ueber den Reformirten Plan soll eine aparte Conference gehalten und ein Kirchen Collegium formirt werden zur Direction dieser Sache, in genauer Connexion mit der Synode." 15te Penn. Synode, §. 30, quoted by Reichel. 17te Penn. Synode, §. 10. "Die Reformirten Prediger, Aeltesten und Vorsteher haben Erlaubniss, dem luther. Consistorio beizuwohnen, doch ohne voto, und vice versa." Ein Protokoll des Reformirten Collegii vom 12ten Aug. 1743, in Philadelphia gehalten, ist noch vorhanden. Rev. L. T. Reichel in Schaff's Kirchenfreund, 1849, p. 103.

able freedom and right—a circumstance which did much to allay the suspicions of Reformed members and churches in regard to the new movement, and caused a goodly number to fall in with it. Rev. Mr. Bœhm, who, from the beginning, stood directly under the direction and in the spirit of the Church of Holland, at whose hands he had received his ordination, very zealously opposed the movement, on the ground especially of what he regarded as dangerous tenets put forth in reference to the doctrine of Free Grace. Lischy being the soul and leader of the movement among the Reformed, Mr. Bœhm contended against him and his teachings in the pulpit, in the public papers, and in a very caustic pamphlet. Lischy felt that this influence was operating strongly against him, and he was led, accordingly, to take measures to defend himself and his teachings. Operating about this time in Lancaster and Berks counties, he called a council, to meet at Heidelberg, August 29th, 1743. Fifty Elders and Deacons, besides a large number of church-members from twelve congregations, met on the appointed day. At this meeting many complaints were lodged against him: "He is a Zinzendorfer, and has promised the Count to take the care of the Reformed, and bring them to his side: He is not properly ordained," et cetera. Lischy vindicated himself by relating the history of his life hitherto—how he had been awakened through the preaching of the Brethren in Mühlhausen and Basel, and how he had afterwards gone to Marienborn and Herrnhut, and at last come to America—showed also his certificate of ordination. The result was that these congregations renewed their call to him.* It seems he had satisfied the Reformed, but it was evidently by a compromise, in which he had to spread himself quite too much two ways. He must have kept back much of his heart and mind from the Reformed council; while, on the other hand, he yielded to them more than was fully agreeable to the Brethren in Bethlehem. On this matter he himself remarks: "My Breth-

* Rev. L. T. Reichel, Schaff's *Kirchenfreund*, 1849, p. 102. This call was signed by every Elder of Bern, Heidelberg, Cocalico, Donnegan, Schwatara, Blue Mountain, Maiden Creek, Wintzen at the Schuylkill, and Whiteoakland.

ren (in Bethlehem) gladly rejoiced with me over the victory I had gained, and yet my matters were never exactly to their mind, and I often knew not how to suit myself into affairs, yet I ever comforted myself in this, that they always said they would regard the matter with indulgence, perhaps the Saviour would bring matters into the track again."* How truly has the highest authority said: "No man can serve two masters." How true too, that compromises in religion are the natural children of hypocrisy, and bear the lineaments of the parent. What a compliment to God's wisdom to suppose that His cause needs the two-faced cunning of a compromiser to carry it successfully forward! It is poor ballast that rolls from side to side in the ship.

Next we find Lischy preaching in and around York, Pa. "In the year 1744, the well-known Lischy, who had been sent out by the congregation in Bethlehem, came into the neighborhood of Yorktown to preach the Gospel to all who were willing to hear him. He professed to be a Reformed minister, and was allowed to preach in the Reformed church in Yorktown. His testimony of the death of Jesus, delivered in the name of the congregation, made a favorable impression on many. Hence a great excitement arose among the people. Many who had before been uneasy, came to confer with him on the state of their hearts. In the following year, brother Nyberg (Lutheran minister of this union stamp in Lancaster) frequently preached here; the awakening continued to increase, and it seemed as if all in and around Yorktown, as well as on the Crice-creek, would be converted. Anno 1746 a Brethren Synod was held at Crice-creek. A few weeks prior thereto, the people first became aware that Lischy had been sent by the congregation; and when he wished to preach again in the Reformed church in Yorktown, many persons had collected in front of the church with great noise, who forbade him, as well as brother Christian Henry Rauch,† to preach in their church. Nevertheless brother Rauch preached on the same

* Rev. L. T. Reichel, *Schaff's Kirchenfreund*, 1849, p. 102.

† Rauch was also Reformed.

day, in the open air, to a very large audience, and proclaimed to them the word of life with great joyfulness. Public preaching was thenceforward held at Immel's house on the Coderus."*

This is a graphic picture of the practical workings of this Unity scheme, which had evidently at this time already so far apparently fallen into a Moravian current as to awaken the fears of the Reformed members of York. How far there was, at this time, ground for this suspicion, and to what extent Mr. Lischy labored to explain his position to the people, and how much there was in his present spirit and views under the pressure of his zeal for the new order that seemed unnatural and suspicious to such as held on to the original Reformed order, it is difficult now to know. We do know, nevertheless, that however deficient in piety some may have been, their opposition to Lischy cannot be regarded as against true piety, but only against that type of it which he represented, and which they felt to be foreign to that which was homogeneous in the Reformed Church. A considerable portion of the congregation adhered to Mr. Lischy and gave him a call to become their stated pastor.

In a short memorandum in the Record Book of the York congregation, Mr. Lischy gives a brief account of his coming to that place and his connection with the German Reformed church there. "In the year of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, 1744, I came hither on the written invitation of a number of members of the congregation, and preached the word of life to this deserted flock which had hitherto been without a regular pastor and teacher. And as the preaching of the word was attended with unmerited blessing from above, from "the Father of lights," the congregation made strenuous efforts to obtain my consent to become their regular and appointed Pastor. To this end, they transmitted to me by the Elders, George Mayer and Philip Rothrock, a written call, dated on the 12th day of August, 1744; and after I had declined accepting it,

* "Brief account of the origin and founding of the Moravian congregation at York."

the whole congregation* unanimously sent me another, asking me, in the name of the Triune God, to become their pastor, as will appear from the call itself, dated on the 29th of May, 1745. Thereupon, I came hither, in the name of Jesus Christ, and preached my introductory sermon from Ezekiel 2: 1-7, organized the congregation, and served it according to the grace given to me, by preaching the word and administering the sacraments."

Only a short time before Mr. Lischy received this second call to York, namely March 21, 1745, there was a large Church council held at Mode creek, similar to that held in Heidelberg in August, 1743, where fifty Elders and Deacons from twelve German Reformed congregations, were present. Lischy's true Church relations were again the subject of inquiry. He was called upon to say whether he was a Moravian or not. At first he endeavored to evade the investigation;† but when closely pressed by Rauch, Bechtel and Antes, who were Reformed, but stood at the time in the Brethren Unity, he was constrained to acknowledge that he stood in union with the Brethren. At the same meeting a Hymn of sixteen verses, composed by him, was publicly read before the Council. This Hymn breathes so peculiarly the spirit of the Unity of the Brethren at that time, and is so full of loyalty to that movement, that one is led to suppose that it was written under the new impulse of zeal consequent upon the position which he had now newly assumed under the pressure of circumstances. A copy of this singular poetic production has been kindly furnished us by Rev. Levin T. Reichel of Salem, N. C., from a work in course of preparation by him, entitled, "The Early History of the Church of the United Brethren, commonly called Moravians, in North America, from 1740 to 1775." The reader will be pleased to read it entire. It would lose by a translation, and hence we give it in his own German:

* "So hat die ganze Gemeinde ihm, im Namen des Dreieinigen Gottes, noch mal zu ihrem Prediger berufen."—[Records, York cong.]

† "Anfänglich trug er (wie H. Antes sich ausdrückt) die Kirche um's Dorf." Reichel in Kirchenfreund, 1748, p. 102.

JACOB LISCHY'S LIED FUER DEN KIRCHENRATH IN MODECREEK
DEN 21. MERZ 1745.

1. Was soll der Knecht Gottes Zwinglius
Und der ehrwürdige Calvinus
Doch wohl zu uns sagen,—wenn sie herkämen,
Und ihres Volks Sache so recht vernähmen?—Wer weiss es wohl?
2. Ich dünkte, sie weinten vor Herzeleid
Ueber die heutige Christenheit,
Die gewisslich so sehr verworren,
Dass es in Sodoma und Gomorrah—kaum ärger war.
3. Man nennt sich, dem Namen nach, reformirt.
Das heisst, verbessert, zurechtgeführt,
Und die armen Seelen sind im Gewirre.
Es läuft fast alles noch in der irre.—Kyrie eleis.
4. Wo ist unser erster und alter Grund,
Der durch der Apostel glückseligen Mund
Ausgesprochen worden und aufgeschrieben?
Wo ist die uralte Lehre geblieben—von Jesu Blut?
5. Es stehet im Berner Synodum,
Dass Christus Jesus der Punct und Summ'
Aller Gottes Lehre, zu allen Zeiten,
Dass Jesu Marter und blutiges Leiden—der Text soll sein.
6. Hört man denn Itrund so viel davon?
Ist diess der sel'ge und sanfte Ton?
Klingt es den Ohren und Herzen süsse;
Dass unser Gott Jesus an Hand und Füssen—die Mahle hat?
7. Macht man viel Wesen zu dieser Zeit
Von Jesu durchstochnen blutigen Leib',
Von den heiligen Wunden, so herrlich schöne?
Ist das der Prediger ihr Getöse?—Nein, nein, ach nein!
8. Es geht gewisslich, wie Cicero schreibt,
Dass Symonide die Sache treibt;
So wird's heutzutage pünktlich getrieben,
Man ist bei dem heidnischen Maxime geblieben—und weiss sonst nichts.
9. Man redet zwar viel von dem grossen Gott,
Und bleibet im Herzen steinalt und todt,
Denn kein Mensch kann nichts von Gott verstehen,
Bis man lernt in's Jesu Wunden sehen,—Gott war im Fluch.
10. Man prediget nichts als Sittenlehr'
Und von dem Herrn Jesu so ungefähr
Zu Passionszeiten—in den Charwochen
Thut man sowas über die Juden pochen,—wie schlimm sie wern.
11. Wir aber, die wir von Gott erwählt
Und aus Gnaden zum Volk gezählt,
Des Jesu Marter hält hoch in Ehren,
Wir wollen mit den ehrwürdigen Chören—das Lamm erhöhn.

12. Wir predigen mit Jesu Blut Gemein
Kreuz, Tod, Blut, Wunden, Jahraus, Jahrein,
Sagen allen Seelen von diesem Lamm,
Der blutig gehangen am Kreuzestamme—für alle Welt.
13. Diess ist die Maxime der Gottes Knecht,
Daran erkennt wird, ob man auch recht
Von dem Geiste Gottes ist ordinirt,
Wenn unser Herr göttlich ist ausgezieret—mit Jesu Blut.
14. Da weist man, mit Paulo, keinen andern Gott,
Als den, der am Kreuze für uns ein Spott
Mit der Dornen Krone, der blutigen Seiten,
Darauf man mit Herz und Mund thut deuten—ganz kräftiglich.
15. Diess ist die Lehre, die ewig bleibt,
Wie St. Johannes in Wahrheit schreibt,
In der Offenbarung im 6ten Capitel,
Da giebt er dem Lamm den höchsten Titel,—im 9ten Vers.
16. Wir bleiben also bei dieser Lehr,
Herr Jesu Christo, komm zu uns her.
Wir sind deine Leute, die du erworben,
Da du am Kreuze für uns gestorben.—Es bleibt dabei.

Acquitted by his judges, Mr. Lischy again serves the congregation at York for several years. When Schlatter came to that place, May 2nd, 1747, he found "a large German Reformed congregation there." Lischy, however, was not at that time, a regular pastor in York. Schlatter says, he had previously been their pastor. Schlatter preached for them, and administered the Lord's Supper, baptized twenty-nine children, and spoke specially with the communicants, "because the Brethren, in connection with Mr. Lischy, had brought much confusion among them."* These difficulties, it seems, had some time previous to Schlatter's arrival, effected a separation between Lischy and the congregation in York. Rev. Neuberger, who sustained the same relation to the Lutherans and the Brethren, as Lischy did to the Reformed and Brethren, had preached in York among the Lutherans. The largest portion of the Lutheran members, however, locked the door of the church on him. As Neuberger was at the time operating more particularly in Lancaster, having only gone over to York on a temporary mission, his party were left in the hands of Lischy, who, meanwhile strengthened and sustained them, in connec-

* Schlatter's Journal, page 263, 265.

tion with a like-minded party of his own adherents from the Reformed Church. Thus he went with the fragment which he carried away.†

About this time we find Mr. Lischy again afloat as an evangelist. June 20, 1747, Dr. Muhlenberg mentions Neuberger as preaching in Lancaster in the interest of the Brethren, and remarks: "With him, a Reformed preacher, Jacob Lischy, preaches alternately even the same doctrines."‡ At this time, he also missionated about Litiz, and the northern portion of Lancaster county. Having lost his hold, to a great extent, in York, he desired to establish for himself a charge in this region, no doubt including Lancaster. In this he failed; and seeing that his present semi-Reformed and semi-Moravian position was likely permanently to work to his disadvantage, he began to look around him for a position in which he would be more likely to succeed. He resolved on a separation from the Brethren, and an union with the Reformed Church.§

A short time after this, namely on the 26th of June, 1747, Mr. Schlatter stopped at Bethlehem, while visiting the Reformed congregations in Lehigh and Northampton counties, where he providentially met Mr. Lischy for the first time. He seems just to have come from Lancaster county. Wishing, as it seems, to have some communication with Mr. Schlatter, he accompanied him ten miles to Nazareth. "When we got into conversation, this man very magnanimously manifested a hearty penitence and sorrow, that he had suffered himself, with many other erring souls, to be bewitched by the crafty Brethren, and become entangled in the net of their soul-destroying teachings and customs. This open-hearted acknowledgment gave occasion to an extended and earnest conversation, in which I was fully persuaded of the honesty and sincerity of his in-

† Jener (Lischy) hatte schon eine zeitlang in diesem District in der Reformirten Gemeinde gearbeitet. Nachdem aber bekannt worden, dass er Herrnhutisch gesinnt sei, haben sich seine Gemeinen daselbst gespalten." Hal. Nach., 282.

‡ Hal. Nach., p. 280.

§ "In the summer of 1747, the otherwise gifted and active minister, Lischy, out of ill-humor (Misamuth) on account of having failed in establishing a congregation or charge for himself out of the Reformed portion of the awakened souls, separated himself from union and communion with the Brethren, and left the neighborhood." Biene, Vol. III, No. 14.

tentions, and of his firmly formed determination completely to separate himself from the Brethren, and gladly return again into the bosom of the true Reformed Church. I agreed to write to the Reverened Christian Synods in regard to this interesting circumstance, and wait for their counsel and direction, and earnestly advised him meanwhile to consider the matter in silence and the fear of God, and afterwards to transfer to me to Philadelphia, his conclusion in writing."||

It soon became known to the Brethren composing the Unity, that Lischy was losing his loyalty to that movement. Accordingly at the meeting of the 23rd general Synod held in Germantown, May 1747, they passed a resolution demanding of him that he should now decidedly declare himself either as a member of the Brethren Church and answerable to it, or as a Reformed minister under the Brethren Consistorium, or as an independent Reformed minister. He declared in favor of the last.¶

Lischy now took active measures to have himself received as a regular minister of the German Reformed Church in connection with the Synod organized a little later in the same year, Sept. 29th, 1747, through the instrumentality of the Rev. Mr. Schlatter. He now returned to York, if possible to reinstate himself there and win the confidence of the people. In Aug., 1747, Schlatter received the first letter from Lischy, the contents of which he does not mention, but it contained, among other things, an invitation to Mr. Schlatter to come to York, and if possible restore harmony and peace in the congregation, and use his influence to effect his restoration into their confidence.

On the 29th of September the Synod met in Philadelphia, at which Mr. Schlatter, and Rev. Reiger of Lancaster, were appointed to proceed to York, "to examine into the strife which had been occasioned between the York congregation and Mr. Lischy on account of his attachment to the Brethren."

On the 23rd of October they were on the ground. On the 24th Rev. Reiger preached a preparatory sermon; and on the

|| Schlatter's Journal, pp. 271, 272.

¶ Rev. Reichel, in *Kirchenfreund*, 1849, pp. 102, 103.

25th they administered the holy supper. "After the service," says Schlatter, "I asked the whole congregation how they felt inclined toward Mr. Lischy; whether they would receive him as their regular pastor, in case he would be appointed by the Reverend Synod of Holland and established among them agreeably to the order of the Church? The greatest number of the members said, that, if it were possible, they would prefer another minister; because they mistrusted that he had not yet fully withdrawn from the Brethren Church; still if they had very clear evidence of his good intentions, and he would make such a public acknowledgment as the Christian Synods should approve, they would then feel inclined to bestow upon him again their former affection.

"Mr. Lischy, who, during this transaction, conducted himself with propriety, manifesting good sense and Christian meekness, promised that he would put upon paper the true sense of his heart, and hand the same over to Mr. Reiger and myself; and said, that we might be assured that sincere uprightness lay at the main-spring of all he had done. We admonished him to refrain from administering the holy sacraments till further orders were given; still we told him that we would consent that he might, if he desired it, deliver exhortations unto edification, in his own house, to such as should feel inclined to hear him, in order in this way to relieve the people of their concern as to the sincerity of his intentions."* Thus ended this conference for this time.

On the 17th of May, 1748, Mr. Schlatter and Mr. Reiger met again in York, and inquired still further into the case of Lischy, and the state of the congregation. They found to their joy that confidence in him had been measurably restored, and that their affection for him was kindling anew—with only a few exceptions.† On the 18th Mr. Schlatter asked Mr.

* Schlatter's Journal, pp. 276, 277, 278.

† To this period, in the history of this matter, refers, no doubt, the passage in "A brief account of the origin and founding of the Moravian congregation at York." It runs thus: "Anno, 1748, Lischy, who had been called to Bethlehem and had now separated himself from the Brethren congregation, returned, and at once sought to get the awakened souls on his side, and make them regard the Brethren congregation with suspicion; in which he in many cases succeeded. Still the Redeemer retained a little flock, which adhered to him, and the congregation, turning a deaf ear to Lischy."

Lischy to preach, by way, no doubt, of testing his orthodoxy on the point involved, on Matthew 22: 14, "For many are called, but few are chosen," which, without having had much time to prepare, he did with great power, and greatly to the satisfaction of all. This was the first time he had preached publicly in the church since the first disturbances. With the consent of the congregation, Mr. Schlatter and Reiger agreed that he should now continue to preach; but that he should still withhold himself from administering the holy sacraments until orders in regard to his case should come from Holland.* At the next meeting of Synod in October, he was, however, authorized, in the interim, to administer the holy supper, if the congregation desired it at his hands.† On the 3rd of December, 1748, Mr. Lischy handed over to Mr. Schlatter the promised written statement of his faith, which Mr. S. then sent to Holland;‡ Mr. Lischy, meanwhile, awaiting at York the final direction in his case. In November, 1750, Mr. Lischy, at the request of Mr. Schlatter, visited the congregations in Virginia, where Mr. S. had previously been.

After Mr. Lischy separated from the Brethren, he turned strongly against them, manifesting his opposition zeal both in writing and preachings§—not the best sign of sincerity in his conversion, nor yet that he would be a promising acquisition to the cause he now espoused. Time will show.

There was about this time much uncertainty and delay in communicating by letter with Europe, and we find that Synod at a special session in December, 1750, complain of this as a great hindrance to them. As Schlatter makes no mention in his Journal of the final decision of the case of Lischy up to that time, it is likely that the same cause effected this delay. He was, however, finally approved, and received.

He has recorded the following in the church-book at York, which shows the progress of his life. "In the year 1750, after having, from various causes and considerations, concluded to accept a call from another charge, which had been placed in my hands, and with that view announced my intention to

* Schlatter's Journal, pp. 286, 287. †Ibid. p. 294. ‡ Ibid. p. 297. § "Hat auch gegen dieselbe schrift- und mündlich gezeuget." Hal. Nach., p. 280.

preach my valedictory sermon ; I again received a unanimous request from the congregation to remain with them as their minister, as will appear from the call, dated December 31st, 1750. Whereupon I continued to serve the congregation several years longer." We are told that "prosperity marked the period that followed this."*

Toward the close of the year 1753, some difficulties again occurred between him and the people, so that at the beginning of the year 1754, Mr. Lischy, being desirous of withdrawing from the congregation, once more resigned, and even went so far as to preach his farewell sermon, taking as his text, the words : "Testifying both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." Acts 20 : 21. The congregation, however again, took active measures to prevent, if possible, his leaving them. "In the hope," as they say, "of thereby inducing him to reconsider the matter and consent to serve them anew as Pastor," they called a meeting, and "without the privity or knowledge of the minister," agreed upon the following unanimous resolution and declaration :†

"IN THE NAME OF THE TRIUNE GOD !

WE, the undersigned, collectively and publicly assembled in the church, on the 1st day of January, 1754, have agreed to adopt, receive, and acknowledge the following articles, and have resolved that they, in connection with and in addition to, our existing church discipline and regulations, shall at all times hereafter be maintained and observed by the elders and membership of the congregation :

First. It is our mature and deliberate meaning and intention that our church discipline, as prepared by the Rev. Mr. Lischy, and repeatedly read before the congregation, shall at all times be enforced and observed by the elders and members.

Secondly. It is our design that henceforward the names of the members of the Reformed congregation in York, shall be recorded in the church-book, so that they may be treated and

* Rev. J. O. Miller's Centenary Sermon, 1854.

† Rev. J. O. Miller's Centenary Sermon, 1854.

dealt with according to the ordinances of Christ. And if any decline or refuse to comply herewith, or by their conduct or behavior violate the discipline and regulations, they shall be excluded from membership, and their names, if recorded, erased from the list.

Thirdly. We deem it necessary and beneficial that in future, the minister shall annually nominate four persons for Elders and two persons for Deacons; and of the persons so nominated the congregation shall select and elect two Elders and one Deacon.

Fourthly. It is our unanimous conviction and resolution that we, the undersigned, are bound, according to our several means and ability, to contribute to the support of our Pastor and the maintenance of the Church, so that public divine worship may continue to be held, and be perpetuated among our descendants.

Fifthly. We hereby renewedly call the Rev. Jacob Lischy to be our Pastor, confirming and renewing also the previous calls given to him in the years 1745 and 1750—promising to conduct ourselves toward him as Christian brethren, hearkening and submitting to his earnest exhortations and admonitions.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have hereunto either personally signed our names, or duly authorized them to be subscribed for us.† Done as above, Jan, 1st, 1754."

† It will be a matter of interest to some to be permitted here to read the names affixed to this interesting document. They are: George Mayer, Casper Kieffer, Christian Wampfler, Jacob Ob, Jun., Philip Hintz, John Welsch, Abraham Welschans, Jacob Ob, Sen., Peter Ob, Joseph Welschans, Martin Danner, Peter Wolff, Philip Weber, Tobias Anspacher, Henry Klatfelder, Geo. Christian Sinn, George Hoke, Philip Ganss, Michael Houck, Michael Weider, John Welsch (tailor) Killian Smith, Peter Seiss, Abraham Reißblatt, Dieter Meyer, Benedict Schwob, Ludwig Kraft, (school-master) Ulrich Hess, Michael Schlatter, John Dalman, Nicholas Reisinger, John Dentsel, Henry Chartron, Abraham Kieffer, Gerhart Luckenbach, Nicholas Ob, Jacob Reiff, Michael Grebill, John Gerber, Henry Wölder, Killian Dueffinger, Nicholas Schaffer, Henry Bier, Nicholas Wilt, Jacob Correl, Dieter Obach, Philip Hintz, Jr., John Humerichaus, Nicholas Schrum, Jacob Ottinger, Conrad Anna, Zachariah Schuckert, Casper Kieffer, Jr., Henry Stertzenecker, Christopher Weider, John Wahl, Geo. Krimm, John Guckes, Michael Neumouth, John Appelman, Christian Dittenhoffer, Dewalt Emrich, Geo. Schram, Jonas Leib, John Bantzel, Jacob Schaffer, Geo. Michael Kann, George Rudy, Christian Wampfler, Sen., Jacob Hildenbrandt, Conrad Miller, Henry Everhart, Jacob Welsh, John Wolff, Jacob Wagner, Jacob Sharer, Nicholas Kerr, Henry Wolff,

This writing is signed by eighty-seven male members of the church. It was all done, as they say, "without the privity or knowledge of the minister;" but when it was afterwards presented to him it had the desired effect. He afterwards refers to this as determining his mind to continue with them for a time longer. "A remarkable interposition of divine providence, the members having manifested and promised renewed earnestness and zeal, frustrated my design, and I am induced to continue serving the congregation as its Pastor—whereunto may God confer grace and strength, for Jesus' sake. Amen!" So he wrote in the church-book, April 18th, 1754.

It was but a precarious prosperity that followed this action. Some trouble or other always lingered in the background, which would spring in upon them at the least occasion. The storm, which he had long been raising over his own head, was fast preparing to break in a fierce finale upon him, and through him upon the congregation.

With all his etherial pretensions to extraordinary piety, many inconsistencies showed themselves from time to time, in his conduct, yet not so as to destroy all confidence in him, or subject him to ecclesiastical discipline. At length, however, the mask fell off, and his sin found him out. In 1756 he made himself guilty of a grievous scandal; and his case was brought before the *Cœtus* of 1757. "He was requested to appear publicly before the *Cœtus*; but he did not appear. He was requested to present himself privately before a committee of our *Cœtus*; but he did not come. He was unwilling to submit to the decision and censure of the *Cœtus*, and contrary to your expressed wish, he immediately appealed to the Synod and *Classis*. We suspended him immediately from his ministry until he should remove the objections against him; but he conducted himself very improperly, and with the aid of his abettors broke open the doors of the church with force, and thus proceeded to do as he thought he had a right to do. In this country we have no power to compel him. We do not know

Henry Luckenbach, Mathias Gemahom, Adam Schlaby, Jacob Meyer, Charles Krimm, Henry Stüttler, Henry Leinbacher, Godfrey Frey, George Woldey.—87.

whether he will bring his case before the Venerable Fathers. Certainly the irregularity is to be regretted by which Domine Lischy, against the public reputation which he had for piety, has turned his liberty into licentiousness, and has thus brought himself, not only under the censure of the Church in general, but also of the whole Cœtus."*

In an abstract of the Minutes of Cœtus of the year 1757, transferred to Holland by the Secretary, Rev. Joh. Conradus Steinerus, there is a full account of the case of Lischy, which, as it is not unto general edification, we give it in the original merciful Latin for the accommodation of the curious. For this document we are indebted to the Rev. Dr. De Witt of New York. It furnishes a most instructive example of the devilish counterfeit which underlies that boasted spiritualism which in one form or other, always ends in the flesh.†

* From the proceedings of Cœtus for the year 1759, transferred, in Latin, to Holland, the original of which has been kindly furnished the writer by Dr. De Witt of New York.

† Nota res, V. P. breviter ita te habet. Jam a multo tempore, multas, imo gravissimas de D. Lischy Ecclesiae Yorktunensis Pastore, querelae motae, consilio autem et auxilio amicorum et fautorum ipsius, secularium maxime, semper haecenus suppressae fuerunt, donec ante annum circiter, D. Lischy, praemature suo, post obitum conjugis suae, cum serva sua concubitu, quam quidem postea matrimonio sibi junxit, illa autem septimo post copulationem mense, filiolum integrae naturae enixa est, novam et justissimam coetualibus suis, de ipso conquerendi, ansam dederit, qui isto Lischii lapsu adeo offensi et irritati sunt, ut longe maxima illorum pars, illum porro audire, et pro pastore suo agnoscere abnuerit. Membra congregationis ad fluvium Kreis-kriek, unanimiter illum respuerunt. Congregatio Yorko politana a misere distracta et in duas partes discissa est, ita tamen, ut illorum pars, qui Lischium tanquam indignum Ministrum rejecerunt, alteram Partem, quae illum retinere cupit, et Numero et Bonitate longe superet. De quibus circumstantiis, cum potius illa Pars, memores officii sui vinculi, quo Ecclesiae reformatae Coetui nostro obstrictae sunt, certiores nos fecisset, simulque auxilium nostrum efflagitasset, valde anxii atque dubii rediti sumus, quid agamus, et qua ratione offensam a D. Lischio Auditoribus, ad delendum ex animis ipsorum conceptum Scandalum, restituendamque Pacem et Concordiam, optime consulamus. Licet enim praematurus ille concubitus a multis pro peccato veniale habeatur, nos tamen, ob varias concurrentes circumstantias, non ita leviter de illo judicare possumus. Nihilominus amice et fraterne cum illo agere nobis propositum fuit.

Hinc:

I. Dom. Lischy ad amicum inter Ipsum, Seniores Ecclesiae Yorko politanae et tres ex Coetu nostro denominatos Ministros, instituendum Colloquium invitavimus. Quam a hoc nostrum Concilium D. Lischy adeo non ariserit, ut potius in literis ad D. Praesidem, Rieger, et D. Otterbein datis, sine ulla ratione nos injuste adversus ipsum odii inimicitiaeque accusare; crimen verum rationibus levisimis nullisque momenti argumentis extenuare atque excusare non erubuerit, siquae nonnullis ansam suspicandi dederit, animum

The matter lingered for several years in the hands of the Coetus, while "he continued in the same hardness of heart," persevering in his insubordination to the authorities of the Church, and at the same time showing neither humility nor penitence on account of his sin. Meanwhile the strife continued in the York congregation, part taking sides with him and part wishing him removed, as unfit to exercise the functions of the holy ministry. Other charges were added during the pro-

ipalus a foedissima illa pristinorum Nicolaitarum haeresi forsan haud alienum, et pestiferis Zinzendorfi, quem olim secutus est, opinionibus adhuc infectum esse.

II. Unanime consensu statuimus ut D. Lischy publicum Ministerii Exercitium pro tempore interdicator, et Congregationes interim a D. Otterbein, quotiescunque fieri possit, invitentur, donec in proximo, qui nunc habitus est, Coetu nostro, omnes circumstantiae penitus examinentur, et necessaria possibilique ad unionem et aedificationem distractae Ecclesiae remedia adhibeantur. At D. Lischy cum suis audire noluit, ita ut non solum in exercendo Ministerio praefracta fronte perrexerit, sed oculos etiam Templum, ab his, qui ipsi adhaerent, pluries vi effractum fuerit.

III. Cum Tempus Coetus nostri appropinquavisset, D. Lischy a D. Praeside humane ad illum invitatus fuit, in quo tamen comparere recusavit, absentia vero atque in obedientia sua in causa fuit, ut nihil concludere, nihil in ordine redigere potuerim.

IV. Denique D. Lischy literis nomine Coetus scriptis, denuo officii obedientiae quam Coetui debet, admonemus, sique gradus cum illo egimus, sed in hoc usque diem optatum finem assequi non potuimus.

Dolemus interim V. P. miserum Ecclesiae Yorktunensis Statum; dolemus nostram, illam maxime ob Ministrorum defectum, juvandi impotentiam. Dolemus praesertim, quod malo Pastoris istius Exemplo, et Coetuium Discordia, boni majis majisque offendantur, Sanctus Dei Spiritus contristetur, Nomen Verbumque Divinum profanetur, Sanctissima nostra Religio, ut et S. Ministerium ludibrio Hostium exponatur.

Illi qui Lischium deseruerunt, et ab illo discesserunt, gemunt et discruciantur animo ob pessimum illius Exemplum et Mores; altera vero Pars non tantum nihil hoc curat, sed malo illius Exemplo ad irrisipientiam potius abutuntur, quod pluribus Exemplis demonstrare possemus, ex quibus evidentissime patet, Lischium, etiamsi angelicis linguis loqueretur, Ministerio tamen suo, in Yorktown saltem nullos amplius fructos bonos producturum esse.

Cum vero ita res sit summopere vos, V. P. rogamus, quin flagitemus ut prudentissimum verbum, in arduo hoc Lischiano casu, concilium sine mora nobis impertire, validoque vestro auxilio nobis impotentibus succurrere benigne velitis quo tandem lapis offensiois in Congregatione Yorktowne medio tollatur, quies autem et aedificatio Ecclesiae restituantur, quod, juxta nostrum saltem iudicium, si illud proferre liceat, aliter fieri non poterit, nisi Lischius **AUTHORITATE VESTRA** a Ministerio in Yorktown removeatur et alius melioris notae Minister in ejus locum substituitur.

Quum a. Numerus Ministrorum in hac Terra valde imminutus sit, ita ut pauci, qui residui sunt Ministri, omnibus et singulis Ecclesiis sufficienter prospicerent quam valeant, id possissimum a vobis, Ven. P. petimus, ut provida vestra cura, plures idonei ad nos mittantur Ministri, qui *Evangelio* nostri in opere Domine existant. Alias periculum est, ut congregationes haecenus collectae brevi iterum dissolvantur et dispergantur.

gress of his difficulties before Coetus. At the Coetus of 1760 "he was charged with duplicity, and accused of highly objectionable conduct." The minutes say: "Domine Lischy did not make known to us anything concerning the friendly letter addressed to him by the venerable Synod of Holland and the Reverend Classis; of this we have been kept in ignorance. This conduct is so provoking that we can have no communion with him; and it appears he is growing worse from day to day, so that we cannot hope anything good from him in the future.*" Shortly after this he was expelled from the ministry. He then left York and removed to a farm, which he either before possessed, or then bought, some distance from York, on the Codorus, near the line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, where he farmed, and continued to preach irregularly and independently to some country congregations.

After this Mr. Lischy disappeared from the ecclesiastical arena. He continued to live on his farm until his death, which occurred 1781. He lies buried, by the side of his wife, in a retired family graveyard on his own farm, not far from Wolff's church, in York county, Pa. A marble slab, marking his resting place, bears the inscription: "In memory of the Rev. Jacob Lischy, V. D. M.; born in Switzerland, in Europe. Departed this life in the year A. D., 1781." The spot where he lies is elevated, and affords a considerable view of the rolling country around, and along the beautiful Codorus. The graveyard is pretty large, but only six tombstones are visible in it; there seems, however, to be more graves there. Near the grave of his wife, who died in 1754, a large pear-tree has since grown up. The fence around it is in such a broken condition that any animals roaming in the bordering fields may enter freely.† None of those who loved Lischy are there to protect his remains and dress the sod which covers his ashes!

So passeth the glory of this world! "Also their love, and their hatred, and their envy is now perished: neither have they any more a portion forever in anything that is done under the sun."

* Extract in Dutch, communicated by I. D. Rupp, with a translation.

† Rev. Joel L. Beber, 1854.

The life of Lischy is a most instructive commentary on the bastard character of that kind of spiritualism, which caught him up like a whirlwind, carried him through the many strange evolutions of his life, and drifted him at last upon the bleak and barren shores of the flesh and the world. He was, what has since been called, a New Measure revival man. The serious reader will easily discover the far-reaching similarity between this spirit, as it wrought in the time of Lischy, and as it manifested itself nearly a century later on the soil of the German Churches. He will see that its fruits then and now are the same. It was our design to point out this similarity definitely, and further illustrate the points from the facts of Lischy's life; but our article has grown to full size and we are admonished to come to a conclusion. We cannot, however, refrain from indicating the land-marks of this false spirit as they are, and as they come to view in the life of Lischy, leaving the details to the reader's own meditations. This false spirit is, 1. Restless and roving. 2. Censorious and self-righteous. 3. Dishonest and double-dealing. 4. Insubordinate to authorities and order. 5. Stirring up strife and dividing churches. 6. Given to fleshly lusts. 7. Ending in some form or other in the world.—Having spent itself in spasms, it is helpless and dead. A careful review of the facts brought out in this article, as well as a study of the history of fanaticism, will show how truly these are the legitimate fruits of this plausible but dangerous spirit. The Church cannot too earnestly lay to heart the words of the beloved disciple: "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God."

Lancaster, Pa.

H. H.

A2T. III.—CHRISTIAN HYMNOLOGY.

[COMPOSED FROM ALT'S "DER CHRISTLICHE CULTUS,"]

To begin with the Apostolical period, it is acknowledged on all hands that Christians then, as was the case with the Jews in general, made use of the *Psalter* for singing, both in public and private worship; and so when the Reformed Church, in the time of Calvin and Beza, confined itself to the same psalmody, it may be considered in one view to have been a return to the primitive usage. St. Paul himself, however, (Eph. 5: 19; Coloss. 3: 16,) along with psalms makes mention of "*hymns and spiritual songs*;" and the opinion of the Reformed theologian, Le Clerc, that these passages also refer simply to the *Psalter*, designating with these three names only three different sorts of psalms, is not likely to be sanctioned now in any quarter. As naturally as the term "psalms" in both passages, refers to the sacred songs contained in the *Psalter*, so plainly are we required to conceive of the "hymns and odes" as referring to other compositions. Nor need we be at any loss with regard to these. Such *hymns* we meet with in the Old Testament; for example, the triumphal song of Moses (Ex. 15.), the songs found in the 32nd and 33rd chapters of Deuteronomy, the victory chant of Deborah (Judges 5.), the thanksgiving of Hezekiah (Isaiah 38.), &c; and still later specimens of Jewish composition in the same line, are presented to us in the book of Sirach (ch. 44-50.), and in the song of the Three Men in the Fiery Furnace. As regards the "*spiritual songs*," or "*odes*," mentioned by St. Paul, we need only call to mind the custom which prevailed among the heathen, of joining with their religious sacrifices and banquets all kinds of songs, the contents of which could not fail to be in many ways offensive to those who were converted to Christianity. In

opposition to these heathenish songs, the followers of Christ are called upon to sing such as were spiritual and edifying; a practice not without some precedent, as we may learn from Philo, even among the serious minded *Essenes*, at whose meals in common some one always chanted a hymn of praise to God, either composed by himself or borrowed from some older poet. Similar songs of praise are found in the New Testament; the anthem of the blessed Virgin, for instance, (Luke 1: 46-55,) and that of Zacharias, (Luke 1: 68-79,) which, according to Schleiermacher, are to be regarded as hymns, that existed in the time of the Evangelist, and were thus incorporated by him into his historical narrative.

It is not so clear that Muentzer is right, in taking certain passages of the Apocalypse, (such as the new song of the Lamb, c. 5: 9-13; the heavenly act of praise, c. 11: 15-19; the song of Moses, c. 15: 3, 4,) to be fragments of ancient hymns. For, since the book bears throughout the character of lofty poetical inspiration, there does not seem to be any sufficient reason for singling out from it in this way, particular parts as poetical quotations, where the rythmical form may be owing simply to the nature of the subject. There is better reason for admitting the supposition of such a fragment in the words used by St. Paul, Eph. 5: 14:

"Awake, thou that sleepest,
And arise from the dead;
And Christ shall give thee light!"

because the passage is introduced by the clause, "Wherefore he saith," implying a distinct citation, which, however, is not to be found in the Old Testament. Two other passages, 1 Tim. 3: 16, and 2 Tim. 2: 11, have been represented also to be such fragments; but the most we can say of them is, that they may be, not that they must be, of this character.

Holding ourselves to the express voice of history, our attention is carried first to the *Syrian* Church, which, so far as our knowledge of Christian antiquity goes, had its first hymnologists in Bardesanes and his son, Harmonius, who belong to the last half of the second century; whilst of the Greek hymnologists of the first and second centuries, (with the single excep-

tion of Athenogenes, whom Basil the Great mentions as the author of a doxology,) we know not even the names, to say nothing of their songs.

From such dearth of information, it might seem natural to infer a dearth of authors. In the opinion of Muentzer, however, we have no right to come to any such conclusion. Rather we have no reason to be surprised, he thinks, that we should know next to nothing of the hymnologists, which may be supposed to have belonged to this early period; because, in the first place, our notices of the first centuries of the Christian Church, in general, are very meagre and fragmentary; and then, again, we know that in the Pagan persecutions one thing especially aimed at, was to destroy the ecclesiastical books, to which belonged, of course, any collections which might have been made of hymns. Augusti refers besides to the *disciplina arcani*, which must have made it an object with Christians carefully to keep secret such hymns as had for their theme the Trinity, or the Divine Majesty of Christ; whilst he reminds us, at the same time, that there was in the ancient Church a difference of opinion, with regard to the lawfulness of using for Church purposes, any compositions of this sort, not taken directly from the sacred Scriptures.

How precarious all such reasonings are, hardly needs to be shown; and one who should choose to dispute the existence of church hymns in the Greek Church of the first two centuries, would not be likely to alter his mind from having it explained ever so clearly, how and why they *might* have perished so as to leave for us no trace of their use. So much is certain, that the great body of Christians, in the earliest times, belonged to the ruder class of people, and that such church hymns as are here in consideration, regarded at least as the property of the laity, cannot well be thought of as in use, till such a measure of cultivation had come to prevail, on the part of the people, as would create for them some proper need and demand. Whilst then, there may have been occasional effusions of Christian devotion here and there, in the form of original song, the worship of these first times confined itself in the main, no doubt, to the psalms; which were regarded as songs given by God,

and the use of which was the more easy and welcome, as almost every one of them was found to include a reference to Christ.

Just this, however, served to put the heretics out of humor with the psalms; and as it did not seem expedient to question the correctness and necessity of such interpretation in which Jews and Christians agreed, both referring the psalms to the Messiah, with only the difference that the latter saw already fulfilled in Christ those representations which the former applied to a Messiah who was expected still to come, it became naturally enough an interest with the antichristian tendency in question, to have the biblical psalms superseded by others that might better comport with its own doctrinal views.

When Ephraim, the Syrian, tells us, therefore, of the already mentioned Gnostic philosopher, Bardesanes, (about a. 172.) that in imitation of David he had composed one hundred and fifty psalms, we may infer that it was his purpose, not just to bring in some new hymns, but to furnish the Church in form with another Psalter altogether, which it was hoped might take the place of that previously in use. Such as adhered to the true doctrine of the Church, however, could not be pleased with the pretended improvement. The new psalms abounded with Gnostic dreams and fancies; and it was plain enough, that by coming into popular use they were in danger of becoming a vehicle of wide-spread ruinous error.

Still they struck a chord in the common mind, from which they seem to have met a welcome response. They suited a want of the time, and fell in with the popular feeling and taste. Hence they were not to be set aside by mere authority; nor would it answer now to fall back simply on the psalms of David. For, not to speak of the advantage the new hymns had over the Jewish psalmody in point of well sounding melody and rhythm, they had already begun to diffuse the poison of various false sentiments, which needed to be counteracted in a more direct way. Ephraim saw all this; and courageously addressed himself to the task of meeting the evil in the only manner in which it could be done with full success. Being possessed of poetical talent himself, he undertook to compose

orthodox hymns of his own, in opposition to those of Bardesanes and Harmonius; and so well did he succeed, that not only the heretical hymns at that time fell into disuse and oblivion, but his own came into such enduring credit that they continue to be used in the East even down to the present day. Many of them are alternative songs, and some almost dramatic dialogues, as for instance the song in parts between the Virgin Mary and the Wise Men at the birth of Christ. As regards number, the Syrians ascribe to him 12,000 hymns, the Copts as many as 14,000, with the express remark, at the same time, that this is to be understood, not of single verses, but of whole songs consisting of several stanzas. It must be borne in mind, however, that he stands as the general representative of the whole Syrian hymnology, and that many hymns from less distinguished later authors have thus been attributed to his name.

A similar influence of the heretics in the ecclesiastical hymnology, appears to have had place also in the Greek Church. Eusebius, in his Church History, quotes an older writer against Artemon, who denied the divinity of Christ, as appealing to "many psalms and odes, written of old by believing brethren, in which Christ is extolled as the Divine Logos." Origen expresses himself to like effect, when he says to the heathen philosopher, Celsus, among other things: "We celebrate with hymns God and his Only Begotten Son, as do also the sun, moon and stars, and all the heavenly host; for all these, as a divine choir, join with just men in singing the praises of God over all and his blessed Son."

Whether such hymns proceeded, in the first place, from polemical interest, or were the free effusions of faith in Christ, cannot now be certainly known. But it is clear enough, at all events, that they were in use before the middle of the third century; and we need not be surprised, therefore, to find Paul of Samosata, a decided opposer of all the *later* hymnological productions. The more directly and plainly they gave utterance to the true Church faith in regard to the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ, the less agreeable were they, of course, to his heretically disposed mind. As a bishop, however, he could not declare openly the real ground of his dissatisfaction; and

so he was fain to cover it over with a show of zeal for David's Psalms. These the Church had all along held to be of Divine inspiration, and could not, therefore, reasonably find fault with him for giving them the preference over the hymns in question, which were after all the product of only human art. To his own mind, at the same time, the Psalms seemed to be in a great measure free from all that he found offensive in the reigning Church faith, as distinctly enunciated in the orthodox hymns. These proved not less offensive in a somewhat later period to the heretic Arius; and he, accordingly, more bold than Paul of Samosata, was not contented with trying to set them aside by insisting on the exclusive use of the Psalter, but believed himself called to make a better provision for the religious wants of the people by hymns of his own composition. And as it was the general character of Arianism, by rejecting all that was mysterious, to bring Christianity as near as possible to the practical understanding of men, and to lay stress on its moral virtues more than upon its incomprehensible dogmas, the hymns of Arius seem also to have been mainly of this turn, referring to practical rather than doctrinal themes; so that even zealous opponents of the man were constrained, not only to acknowledge his own strict personal morality, but to allow also, that, by his hymns for travelers, sailors, &c., he had exerted a salutary moral influence likewise upon others. Supposing the orthodox hymns of the time to have been combinations simply of doxological and dogmatical formulas, as was probably the case, it is easy enough to understand how, in comparison with them, the popular practical songs of the Arians, might, for a time, meet with more favor from the common world. These were out and out intelligible, while the Church hymns, by their prevailing doctrinal character, appeared to be both obscure and less suited for the purposes of edification. With this was joined the great pains which the Arians took with their public worship, contriving especially by the singing of their hymns, to render it very solemn and impressive; for they held their processions, we are told, in the deep silence of the night, by the light of torches, with sounding chants and antiphons—which had the effect of drawing to them crowds of people.

Whether with reference or not to such heretical hymns, we find the Council of Laodicea, in its 59th canon, decreeing, "that thenceforward no private psalms, (*ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικαί*,) and no uncanonical books should be used, but only the canonical books, of the Old and New Testament."

That these "private psalms" stand immediately opposed to the psalms of David, is clear enough. Still it is a question, whether the prohibition is to be regarded as extending at once to all hymns without exception which were not taken from the Scriptures, or only to such as were held to be doctrinally unsound, like the Psalter, for instance, of the Apollinarists. In the first case, the Council would have declared itself against all that had been done in the way of such composition after the time of the Apostles; in the last case, it must be understood as condemning only the works of those hymnologists, who, as private persons, held no charge in the Church, and so were not to be trusted as caring properly for the purity of doctrine, without meaning at all to reject the hymns of orthodox teachers; and this second view seems to be the one which it is necessary to accept in fact, as the true sense of the canon. Gregory of Nazianzum, at least, did not allow himself to be restrained by the Laodicensian decree, from composing ecclesiastical hymns; neither did his contemporary Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, (about a. 400;) and Chrysostom of the same period thought he could perform for the Church no better work, than when he sought to outdo the Arians, if possible, by bringing out more excellent hymns than theirs, in the service of the right faith. It might be said, indeed, that as the Council of Laodicea was only a Provincial Synod, these bishops paid no regard to its prohibition, as being of no universal or permanent force. But the Council of Chalcedon, (a. 451,) it must be remembered, sanctioned and confirmed the proceedings of this very Synod, making them to be thus of general authority. When we find the Church then, notwithstanding, making use of new hymns afterwards, along with the Psalter, it shows clearly enough that the prohibition in question was considered as referring only to heretical productions.

True, neither the hymns of Gregory, nor those of Synesius,

have remained a permanent property to the Greek Church, and their use was not perhaps at any time altogether general. But this is to be ascribed, not so much to any prejudice against their novelty, as to their peculiar form and the altered circumstances of the Church in subsequent times. It has often been asked, how it comes, that the Greek Church, which glories so much in the high antiquity of its Liturgy, and has shown itself so true to the ancient forms in general, should, nevertheless, in the matter of hymnology, have given preference to the later poets of the eighth and ninth centuries, over those of the fourth—more especially as the advantage of poetical merit is unquestionably on the side of these last. Let the following serve for answer. Gregory of Nazianzum, was in truth not only a deservedly celebrated theologian, but so distinguished a poet also, that philologists, like Grotius and Valkenaer, have not hesitated to place him beside the best among the classics. But, of his many poems, a few only were properly church hymns; and even these were too much cast into the peculiar mould of the author's cultivated and scientific thinking, to be adapted for common popular use. Still more was this the case with the hymns of Synesius, of which we have ten still extant. With their palpable imitation of the Pagan forms of poetry, and their characteristic vein of philosophical and theological speculation, they might pass indeed as respectable samples of the Alexandrian taste in their day; but they lacked popular simplicity too far, to be fitted for the edification of plain persons. This of itself, would account for their not coming into much use in the Church. Another circumstance, however, of no less weight, made itself felt in the case. In the time of these writers, when Arianism prevailed, the controversies concerning the Trinity and the Divine nature of Christ, and so also such hymns as referred to them in a strong and marked manner, were of general interest. Afterwards, these questions having come to a close by the full triumph of orthodoxy, attention was drawn more to other points. It was disputed concerning the veneration of the "Mother of God" and the Saints; and in proportion as the mind of the Church went in favor of this, there was a disposition to welcome hymns of

which they were made the subject and theme. These seemed indeed to be what was now mainly needed, inasmuch as the new heretics attacked not the doctrine of Christ's person, but the honor which was held to be due to the Virgin and Saints. The want began to make itself felt especially in the eighth century; from which time, accordingly, we find a series of hymnologists, who labored for its satisfaction. Of these, the principal were, Cosmas, Bishop of Majuma, (730,) Andreas, Bishop of Crete, (724,) Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, (740,) John Demascenus, (750,) Theophanes, Metropolitan of Nice, (854,) and Joseph, Deacon at Constantinople, (880,) who was the author of forty hymns to the Virgin.

They furnish what the Church wanted, a rich number of compositions devoted to Mary, or in honor of the Saints, suitable to the numerous festivals of the year; and for this service, they were not only praised as "sacred singers" by their grateful cotemporaries, and compared to the "tuneful cicada" or the "musical nightingale," but have secured for themselves besides also an abiding reputation with posterity.

Over against these Oriental hymns, those of the Western or Latin Church, are distinguished for a beauty and dignity peculiarly their own, however little claim they may have to the character of poetry in its more finished forms. The philologist who has been accustomed to classical elegance is often ready to smile, on reading the first verses, at their barbarisms and awkwardness of expression; but as he proceeds farther, his features become more earnest, and almost involuntarily he finds himself disposed to devotion. Hundreds of skilful poets have tried to translate them, and have employed all the charms of diction and rhythm to give the seemingly artless and simple monkish rhymes in modern version. But all their artistic efforts in this way have failed entirely to come up to the effect, which the originals have produced for centuries, wherever read and understood. And what is it that arrests us here with so much power? "Simplicity and truth," replies Herder, rightly. "Here sounds the language of an universal confession, of one heart and faith. Most of them are so constructed as to answer for singing at all times, or are fixed to regular festi-

vals and return with these continually in the circuit of the year. They never confine themselves exclusively to a particular feeling only or thought ; everywhere rather they offer us the language of Christian devotion in grand accents."

Take for instance the well known morning hymn :

Jam lucis orto sidere
Deum precamur supplices,
Ut in diurnis actibus
Nos servet a nocentibus ;
Linguae refræuens temperet,
Ne litis horror insonet ;
Visum fovendo contegat,
Ne vanitates hauriat ;
Sint pura cordis intima,
Absistat et recordia ;
Carnis terat superbiam
Potus cibusque parcitas ;
Ut, quum dies abecesserit
Noctemque sors reduxerit,
Mundi per abstinentiam
Ipsi canamus gloriam.
Deo patri sit gloria,
Ejusque soli filio,
Cum spiritu paracrito,
Nunc et per omne sæculum, Amen.

How simple and general the thoughts ! It is a hymn for all ages and conditions of life, and for every day alike. It has never been new ; and just for this reason it can never grow old.

This character of broad proportioned generality meets us at once in the compositions of Hilary of Poitiers, the oldest Latin hymnologist, († 368 ;) for whom also, in all probability, the thought of using his talent in this way was suggested by the Arian hymns, with which he had become acquainted in Phrygia, during his banishment there, for holding the true faith. It is true, indeed, that most of the hymns which have come down to us under his name, are rejected by modern criticism as spurious. Against the genuineness, however, of the morning hymn : "*Lucis largitor splendide*," no reasonable doubt can be urged ; and this of itself is sufficient to prove, that what has now been said of the Latin hymnology in general, applies in full force also to his productions.

Better known to us, through his sacred poetry, is the celebrated Ambrose, of Milan; who, in like manner, as he tells us himself, wrote hymns in honor of the Holy Trinity, in order to defend the Catholic faith against the false doctrine of the Arians. At the same time, it is necessary to distinguish here also between the genuine and the spurious. Even in the ninth century, Walafrid Strabo had to complain, that many worthless compositions had been attributed to Ambrose to give them credit; and while, in the older editions of his works, and in the Breviaries, over thirty hymns are assigned to him, his Benedictine critics felt themselves bound to acknowledge as genuine not more than twelve. Among these, the first place belongs to the following: "*Aeterne rerum conditor*;" "*Deus creator omnium*;" "*Splendor paternæ gloriæ*;" "*O lux, beata Trinitas*;" "*Veni redemptor gentium*." One of the rejected hymns is the magnificent *Te Deum*, the so called Ambrosian chant, which he is reported to have composed for the baptism of Augustine. As the first ascription we have of it to Ambrose, is in a writer of the eleventh century, while his biographer, Paulinus of Milan, and others belonging to the same age, say nothing on the subject, it seems more reasonable, with Usher, to hold Nicetus, Bishop of Treves, (535,) for its author.

Prudentius, the cotemporary of Ambrose, was likewise a distinguished hymnologist; besides being the author of different larger poems, of a theological and philosophical character. Of his proper church canticles, particular mention is due to the lovely hymn for the Festival of the Innocents: "*Salvete flores Martyrum*," and to the funeral song: *Jam moesta quiesce querela*.

From the poetical compositions of Sedulius, (about 450,) the Church has borrowed only the two Christmas hymns: "*A solis ortus cardine*," and "*Hostis Herodes impie*."

Not less beautiful are the hymns of Fortunatus, (600;) particularly the two celebrated Passion hymns: "*Pange lingua, gloriosi prælum certaminis*," and "*Vexilla regis prodeunt*."

Gregory the Great also († 604) rendered good service to the Church in this department. His hymn for Thursday before

Easter: "*Rex Christe, factor omnium*," was pronounced by Luther, the best of all hymns; more, however, with reference to its genuine evangelical sentiment, probably, than to its poetical form.

Among the hymnologists of the eighth century, may be named particularly the pious and learned Bede, († 735;) of whose eleven hymns, one on the Ascension, has continued in Church use.

To the age of Charles the Great, belongs Paul the Deacon, († 799,) the author, among other pieces, of a festival hymn for John the Baptist, commencing with the stanza:

" Ut queant laxis

Resonare fibris

Mira gestorum

Famuli tuorum,

Solve polluti

Labi reatum,

Sancte Ioannes !"

from which, Guido of Arezzo, is known to have borrowed the first syllables, *Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La*, as names for tones or notes in music, the use of which, in some countries, continues to the present day.

To the same age, probably, is to be assigned also the hymn for Pentecost, improperly attributed to Ambrose: "*Veni creator Spiritus*."

Especially deserving of notice in the period of the tenth and eleventh centuries, is Robert, King of France, (997-1031,) famous both as a poet and a composer, and the author, according to Durandus, of the exquisitely beautiful Pentecostal hymn: "*Veni Sancte Spiritus*."

To this period belongs also the antiphon: "*Media vita in morte sumus*," (In the midst of life we are in death, &c. ;) the original of Luther's "*Komm hei'ger Geist, Herre Gott*," "*Veni Sancte Spiritus, Reple tuorum corda fidelium*," &c. ; and the celebrated address to the Virgin: "*Salve Regina, mater misericordie*."

From the twelfth century, we have the justly prized compositions of the pious Peter Damiani, and those also of the genial and glowing Bernard of Clairvaux. It is interesting to

compare with Paul Gerhard's "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," the hymn of this last "Ad faciem Jesu," beginning :

"Salve caput cruentatum,
Totum spinis coronatum
Conquassatum, vulneratum,
Arundine verberatum,
Facies sputis illita."

The great scholastic doctor, Thomas Aquinas, of the thirteenth century, (†1274,) is the author of the hymn for high mass : "*Pange lingua gloriosi Corporis mysterium*, &c. ; also of the longer production : "*Lauda Sion salvatorem*," devoted in like manner to the awful sacrament of the altar.

To the thirteenth century also belongs what has been well denominated the "gigantic hymn," once ascribed by some to Gregory the Great, or Bernard of Clairvaux, but composed in reality by the Minorite friar, Thomas of Celano, the world-renowned : "*Dies iræ, dies illa Solvet sæclum in favilla*," &c.

To another Franciscan monk, Giacomo Benedetti, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, we are indebted for the beautiful : "*Stabat mater dolorosa Juxta crucem lacrimosa, Dum pendebat filius*," &c. No one can say how many translations of this hymn, and of the *Dies iræ*, have been made into the modern Christian tongues. It is acknowledged, however, on all hands, that no one of them has ever succeeded in doing anything like full justice to either of the originals.

Excellent, however, as these and other hymns in the Catholic Breviaries might be, of what account were they for the mass of the people, unacquainted, as they were of course, with the Latin tongue ? We find this a subject of complaint, more particularly among the Germans, as far back as the ninth century. We need not be surprised, then, that efforts were made in certain quarters to form and bring into use hymns in the vernacular dialects. Quite early, as we may learn from Jacob Grimm and Wackernagel, a number of such compositions made their appearance in Germany. In the course of time, these were followed by others ; so that altogether this country was by no means so destitute of popular religious songs, in the period before the Reformation, as many might be disposed to

imagine. We may distribute them into the four following classes or kinds:

I. *Versions and reproductions of the old Latin hymns.* Among those who did good service by such translations, may be mentioned in particular John, "the monk of Salzburg," (toward the close of the fourteenth century;) by whom as many as eleven hymns were reproduced in this way. A certain brother Dietrich, after him, translated three; and subsequently others also lent their hand to the same work, to whom it may be sufficient merely to refer in this general way.

II. *Mixed songs, half Latin and half German.* These prevailed especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One of the best known specimens, is the Christmas hymn, ascribed to Peter Faulfisch, († 1440,) commencing with the verse:

*"In dulci jubilo
Nu singet und seid froh,
Aller unser Wonne
Liegt in præsepio;
Sie leuchtet vor der Sonne
Matris in gremio,
Qui est A et O."*

It was once pretended that this Peter Faulfisch, (otherwise Peter of Dresden,) being the first who proposed to introduce German hymns into church use, was only allowed after much entreaty, as a particular favor from the Pope, to bring in such as might be mixed with the Latin in this way; and that he set himself accordingly to the task of composing the one just mentioned, and a number of others in similar style, for that purpose. But better inquiry has shown the whole representation to be false. For, in the first place, this very hymn, "*In dulci jubilo*," has been proved much older than the time of Peter of Dresden, being plainly referred to and named in a manuscript of the previous century; whilst the origin of mixed poetry itself lies as far back as the tenth. The thirteenth century in particular was rich in compositions of this fantastic style, both comic and serious. Neither is it difficult at all to account for them. They grew naturally enough out of the position of the writers, who as men of education found themselves, on the one hand, familiar with the Latin and more or less helpless in the use of

the common tongue, while, on the other hand, they sought to make their Latin intelligible to the people by joining with it words and phrases from the vernacular as a sort of running key to its hidden sense. Such poetry was common in France and England, as well as Germany. It sounds strangely ludicrous now; and we are apt to think of it only as a species of childish and wilful buffoonery. But every such phenomenon needs to be judged from the platform of its own age and time. Considered in this way, as the product of what we may call the transition period of the middle ages, this mongrel versification is not without its claims to respect.

III. *Original German hymns.* Some such there were, which were actually sung by the people, though it might be only on great occasions, such as high festivals, processions, pilgrimages, &c. Among them may be quoted as one of the oldest, the popular favorite:

*Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist
Umbe den rechten Glauben allermeist,
Dass er uns behuete on unserm Ende,
So wir heim suln fahen aus diesem Elende. Kyrieleison."*

To this class belong also the old Easter song: "*Christ ist erstanden;*" the Christian's song: "*Gelobet seist du, Jesus Christ;*" the Pilgrim song: "*In Gottes Namen fahren wir;*" the Pentecostal verse: "*Christ fuhre zu Himmel;*" together with the hymns to the Virgin: "*Ave Maria, ein Ros ohn alle Dorn,*" "*Ave Morgensterne, erleucht uns mildiglicht,*" "*Dich Frau vom Himmel ruf ich an,*" and others.

IV. *Accommodations of the popular secular songs.* These, however, belong more to the period of the Reformation itself, than to the time going before. An interesting example of this species of composition is found in the spiritual variations of the familiar drinking song:

*"Den liebsten Duhlen, den ich han,
Der liegt beim Wirth in keller,
Er hat ein hoeltern Roscklein an
Und heisst der Muscateller," &c.*

In one of these new versions, the theme is made to be Christ: "*Den liebsten Herren den ich han,*" &c; in another we have

the "Muscateller" boldly transformed into the Virgin Mary:

*"Den liebsten Buhlen, den ich kan,
Der ist in des Himmel's Throne,
Maria heisset sie gar schon," &c.*

Altogether, however, the hymns here spoken of did not amount to very much for the people. In the ordinary church services, use was still made exclusively of the established Latin chants; only on some special occasions, as before remarked, the people were allowed to bring forward, not the vernacular versions of these, nor hymns of the mixed order, or of the sort last mentioned, but their old native rhymes, short and quaint, formed originally for such use. Processions and pilgrimages, in which a number of persons, with some religious object in view, moved together from one place to another, gave opportunity especially for such popular singing. We read of companies of persons in this way, during the middle ages, passing from country to country, or from town to town, on foot, with strange dress and staff in hand, to visit particular churches or shrines, and causing the air to resound, wherever they came, with songs in praise of God and his saints. The "*Flagellants*," as they are called, who traversed all Germany, during the time of the great plague in the fourteenth century, had a number of penitential hymns which they sung in such fashion, along with their other strange observances, to excite contrition in the public mind. But these were cases confessedly aside from the common practice and rule. It was reserved for the Reformation to open the way fully for popular singing in the churches; and it was Luther himself, more than any one else, who took the lead in this revolution, and by his influence contributed to settle its character and form.

He put his own hand to the work of providing both hymns, and suitable melodies, for popular use. By his example and exhortation he stirred up others to take part in the same work. Later poets took from him their spirit and tone; and he is to be regarded as laying the real and true foundation, in this way, of the almost boundless structure of the German hymnology in later times.

He wrote himself thirty-seven hymns. Of these, a number

were translations of Latin hymns in common use, such as : "*Da pacem Domini*," "*O lux, beata Trinitas*," "*Veni redemptor gentium*," &c. Several were versifications of particular psalms, or other bible passages, among the rest, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments ; four were old German hymns wrought into new and improved shape ; while as many as six, it would seem, not more, were strictly original and free in their composition.

Of the merits of these hymns it is not necessary here to speak. This is sufficiently attested by their enduring reputation, and the power which has been felt to go with them down to the present time. Their effect, when they first appeared, was very great. With their proper melodies, they fell in so exactly with the popular religious feeling of the time, that it was not easy to set any bounds to their influence and use. Tileman Hesshuss does not hesitate to say, that by the one single hymn of Luther, "*Nun freut euch, liebe Christen-gemein*," many hundred persons were brought to the right faith, who might have had no knowledge otherwise even of Luther's name. The Carmelite monk, Thomas a Jesu, in like manner testifies, "that the cause of Luther had been astonishingly promoted by the fact that his hymns were sung by all classes of people, not merely in the churches and schools, but also in the houses and work-shops, in the markets, on the streets, and in the fields." Nay, they found favor even among his declared enemies. Of this class was Duke Henry of Wolfenbuettel, who, notwithstanding, as Selnecker informs us, caused the hymns : "*Es woll' uns Gott gnaedig sein*," "*Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott*," and some others, to be sung in his court chapel. The Catholic priest represented to him, that he ought not to tolerate such hymns. On his being asked, however, to say what hymns he meant, and having in reply, begun with naming the first of the two just mentioned : "*Es woll' uns Gott gnaedig sein*," the Duke is reported to have cut him short with the sharp interrogation : "*Ei, soll uns denn der Teufel gnaedig sein? wer soll uns denn gnaedig sein, denn Gott allein*." So the priest was silenced, and Luther's hymns continued to be sung as before.

At Lubeck, in the year 1529, as a Catholic priest, having preached, was about to offer the prayer following sermon, two small children suddenly struck up the Lutheran hymn: "*Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein*," when the whole congregation at once fell in and carried it through. And so afterwards, also, whenever a sermon was preached in opposition to the new doctrines, the people followed it spontaneously with the same hymn; till finally the government yielded to their earnest entreaty, and consented to recall the Protestant ministers who had been previously banished from the place.

It was in somewhat similar style, that the Reformation was sung into Heidelberg. The Elector Frederick, through fear of the Emperor, was slow in making up his mind to abolish the mass, and it remained in use, accordingly, as late even as 1646. In that year, however, on a certain occasion, as the priest stood at the high altar in the Church of the Holy Ghost to perform the service, a solitary voice first, and then at once the entire congregation, began to sing aloud the familiar hymn of Paul Speratus: "*Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*;" thus plainly showing how deeply the popular mind and will were bent on having a change of worship. In view of which fact, we are told, the Elector hesitated no longer, but forthwith gave order that the mass should be set aside, and the Lord's Supper administered in both kinds after the Protestant fashion.

The first hymn book in the service of the Reformation was published by Luther in the year 1523, and consisted of simply two plain quarto leaves, containing the two hymns: "*Nun freut euch, liebe Christen-g'mein*," by himself, and "*Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*," by Dr. Paul Speratus. In the following year, a collection of eight hymns appeared, text and melody together as before. In 1526 the number published was thirty-nine; and from that time on additions were made almost every year, till they came to be counted at last not only by hundreds but by thousands. The Danish statesman, Moser, had in his possession in 1751, a collection of 50,000 printed German hymns; and now the number is considered to be more than 80,000. Nearly every ten years, from the time of the Reformation, has produced a new, more or less

classic poet in this line, or at all events, some new classic composition; whilst single writers, such as Schmolck and Hiller, have alone produced over a thousand hymns, to swell the general stream.

The hymnology of Germany since the Reformation, like its religion and theology in general, has a history—not simply a numerical heaping together of names and dates—but a regular process or movement in which the subject is comprehended as a whole from one period to another. Its main periods are, 1st, From Luther to Paul Gerhard (1524–1650); 2nd, From Paul Gerhard to Gellert (1650–1754); 3rd, From Gellert to the present time.

With all the poets of the first period, the so called “older school,” the distinguishing characteristic is *objectivity*. It was the period of faith and youthful religious life. Its hymns are taken up with the great objects of Christian devotion, the facts and realities in which it properly terminates, rather than with the frames and feelings simply of those that sing. Firm, evangelical trust in the truths of the Bible forms their reigning tone and spirit throughout. The human sinks out of view, to make room for that which is held to be immediately divine. Hence their essentially popular nature; their enduring suitability, like the old Latin hymns of the middle ages, to all classes of persons and to all times. They are not of an order to wear out or grow old.

Among the more important hymnologists of this period, after Luther himself, may be named, according to their countries and tendencies, the following:

First the Saxon Reformers: Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology at Wittenberg, († 1552,) author of the hymns, “*Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns haelt, wenn unsere Feinden toben*” (after Ps. 123.); “*Der Herr choer euch in der Noth*” (after Ps. 20.); “*Herr Jesu Christ, dein Erb wir sind*” (after Ps. 79.).—John Agricola, of Eisleben, († 1566,) who composed two hymns after Ps. 2 and Ps. 117.—Paul Eber, Doctor of Theology and General Superintendent, († 1569;) he wrote several hymns, among others, the well known lines for a dying person, “*In Christi Wunden schlaf ich ein, Die machen mich von Sunden rein, &c.*”

Friends of the Reformation in Nuremberg: Lazarus Spengler, a leading member of the city council, († 1534); Hans Sachs, the celebrated minstrel, († 1576); he exercised his art in turning hymns to the Virgin or saints, into hymns to Christ, as "*Dich Frau vom Himmel ruf ich an*," into "*Christum vom Himmel ruf ich an*;" "*Sanct Christoph du heiliger Mann*," into "*Christe wahrer Sohn Gottes fromm*;" and so in other cases, which served to show his sympathy with the cause of the Reformation; as did also indeed his versions of familiar secular songs into a religious form, such as, for instance, "*Rosina, wo war dein Gestalt Bei Koenig Paris Leben*," into "*O Christe, wo war dein Gestalt Bei Papst Sylvesters Leben*." Sebaldus Heyd, the author of a number of hymns. John Hesse, who, among other things, turned the popular song, "*Inbruch ich muss dich lassen*," into a hymn commencing, "*O Welt ich muss dich lassen*."

Prussian Reformers: Paul Speratus, († 1554,) author of "*Es ist des Heil uns kommen her*," and a number of hymns besides. John Graumann, (Poliander,) assistant of Speratus in the Prussian Reformation († 1541). Albert Junior, Margrave of Brandenburg-Culmbach († 1557). Erasmus Alberus, († 1558,) a poet, whose hymns are placed by Herder and Gervinus in the same rank with Luther; he wrote, "*Gott hat das Evangelium*;" "*Wer Gottes Wort hat, und bleibt dabei*;" &c.

Cotemporary with these, in different parts of Germany, were: Nicolaus Decius, Preacher at Stettin. John Schneising, (Chiomusus,) Preacher at Gotha. Adam Reussner. John Matthesius, who produced, among other compositions, the beautiful morning hymn, "*Aus meines Herzens Grunde*." Nicolaus Hermann, the "old pious precentor" of Joachimsthal in Bohemia, and the intimate friend of his pastor, the excellent Matthesius just named; whose custom it was, we are told, when the pastor preached a good sermon, forthwith to turn its leading sentiments into the form of a hymn; the result of which, in the end, was Hermann's "*Evangelia auf alle Sonn- und Festtage in Gesängen aufgestellt*"—a book first published at Wittenberg in 1560, and formerly much used.

The first main period from Luther to Paul Gerhard may

itself be distributed into three subdivisions. In that case, the first closes with Hermann (a. 1560). After this, follows what may be styled the "time of controversy among the disciples of the Reformers," (1560—1618;) in the course of which, the hymnology, without parting with its objective character, is found gradually losing the inspiration of vigorous and joyous faith which it had in the beginning, and assuming the form of dry doctrinal statement in conformity with the too often barren polemics of the day. In many cases, they degenerated into short dogmatical tracts in verse, or became mere bible texts and passages turned into flat and worthless tissues of rhyme.

Among the crowd of such tame versifiers, however, there were not wanting, during this time, names of true poetical merit. As such we may mention: Bartholomew Ringwaldt, († 1598,) from whom we have, among others, the valuable hymn, "*Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit*," formed after the *Dies iræ*. Nicolaus Selnecker, († 1592,) the intimate pupil and friend of Melancthon, whose moderate Melancthonian tendency drew upon him the fierce hostility both of the rigid Lutherans, (they nicknamed him "Seelhenker,") and of the Crypto-Calvinists, a bitter trial that lasted all his days; as a monument of his spirit, he has left, in addition to other productions, behind him, composed in the heat of the sacramental controversies, the tenderly affecting hymn, "*Ach bleib bei uns Herr Jesu Christ*." His cotemporary, Ludwig, Helmbold, († 1598,) Pastor and Superintendent at Mühlhausen, who has been styled the "German Asaph," on account of his many hymns and who was publicly crowned as poet at the Diet of Augsburg, a. 1566, by the Emperor, Maximilian II., continues to be still favorably known, especially by his popular composition, "*Von Gott will ich nicht lassen*." Caspar Bieneman, (Melissander,) who was a disciple of Matthias Flacius in the Synergistic disputes, was called to suffer hard persecution from his opponents, reaching even to many years of banishment, and from whom we have the hymn, written in the time of his sore trouble, "*Herr wie du willst, so schicks mit mir*." Martin Schalling, another disciple of Melancthon, who, notwithstanding his dis-

position to pursue a conciliatory course, was yet, for refusing to sign the Form of Concord, thrown into prison and deprived of his office of Superintendent in Amberg, though he found a peaceful settlement afterwards again in Nuremberg, († 1608,) is favorably known by the hymn, "*Herzlich lieb hab ich, dich o Herr.*" To Martin Moller, († 1606,) we owe the hymn, "*O Jesu Gottes Laemmelein.*" Martin Behemb wrote one hundred and fifty sermons on the Passion, which he afterwards converted into one hundred and fifty prayers in rhyme. From Philip Nicolai of Hamburg, († 1608,) we have the two celebrated hymns, "*Wie schoen leucht uns der Morgenstern*" and "*Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme.*" Valerius Herberger, († 1627,) deserves to be named as the author of "*Valet will ich dir geben.*" Here must be named also Louis, Duke of Wurtemberg, († 1593,) a prince, more theological it seems, than political, who often assisted his own Tübingen divines, it is said, by whispering into their ear the right bible texts which they could not always at once call to mind; he is the author of the hymn, "*Dieu weil mein Stund vorhanden ist.*"

Fruitful as the time was, however, in the production of sacred songs, it continued very sparing, thus far, in their church use. Only the most solid and approved hymns were sung in public service; and these stood for the most part unchangeably fixed, not simply for the festival seasons, but even for the common Sundays. So, for example, on all the Sundays between Easter and Ascension, it was customary to sing regularly the same hymn: "*Vater unser im Himmelreich.*" With such practice, the whole congregation were of course perfectly familiar with these standing songs; so that it would have been considered a sort of unbecoming affectation for any one in singing to use a book, *reading* from it "like a precentor." With regard to this, however, a change began to prevail during the latter portion of the main period now under consideration.

The "Thirty Years War" fell heavily on Germany and the Protestant Church; but it was not without its salutary influence in the sphere of religion. It served to draw off the minds of men from dry theological disputes, and to give a more inward and earnest turn to their Christian thinking. One effect

of this was, a new character, to some extent, in the hymnology of the Church, opening the way for what has been considered the third subdivision of the general period ending with Paul Gerhard (1618-1650). Koch's estimate of it is too favorable, when he pronounces it the "*Schöne Blüthenzeit*," both of church music and church song; although it is not to be denied, that we are indebted to it for many truly excellent hymns, distinguished particularly for their pathos and inward unction. It must be admitted, however, that a considerable improvement took place about the same time in the German language and versification. But whatever superiority the hymns of this period may have over the older ones, in point of pure and flowing style, they fall behind these decidedly in true Church worth; being characterized not unfrequently by a certain diffusiveness, and a sort of didactic preaching moreover, that does not compare to advantage with the more brief, full, and direct heart-utterances of the earlier school.

One of the earliest and most distinguished hymnologists of this period, is John Heermann, of Silesia, († 1647,) the author of about forty hymns, which have found general and enduring approbation. Still more worthy of note is the truly poetical Andreas Gryphius, († 1664,) whose sixty-four hymns, although they cannot be said to keep always within the bounds of proper Church simplicity, are always replete with sound Church sense. Henry Held, († 1643,) deserves mention also, a lawyer, and one of the best poets of the older Silesian school. The richly gifted Paul Flemming belongs to the same time († 1640); to him the Church owes the admirable hymn, "*In allen meinen Thaten*," composed as he was setting out upon his journey to Persia. John Rist, († 1667,) stood in high credit among his cotemporaries as a religious poet; was crowned with the imperial laureate in 1664; became a member of the so-called "*Fructiferous Society*," in 1645, with the honorary title of "*Der Rüstige*;" and founded himself, in 1660, the poetical "*Swan Order of the Elbe*." He wrote six hundred and fifty eight sacred songs; many of them indeed not of much worth; as his great popularity tempted him to write too much, and the wonderful facility with which he made hymns, led him too of-

ten to substitute verbosity for strength, mere breadth of language for depth of thought. By way of justification for this, indeed, he tells us in the preface to his "*Seelenparadies*," that it is only through much bruising, the heavenly spices of the Bible give forth their full force and odor; but it must be allowed, that the process in his own hands results too often in a sort of hollow bombast, merely made to supply the place of the true spirit and power of devotion. With all this, however, he has left behind him a number of truly beautiful hymns. John Höfel, his friend, Doctor of Laws and Counsellor in Schweinfurt, († 1683,) was also one of the better poets of the time; a most earnest minded man, who had his own coffin made in the eighteenth year of his age, and in his later life read little else than funeral sermons, of which he had a collection of four thousand; the author, among other hymns, of these two: "*O suesses Wort, das Jesus spricht zur armen Wittwe, weine nicht*" and "*Was traur'ich noch.*" Another eminent poet is Dr. Joshua Stegmann, († 1682,) the author of the truly classic composition, "*Ach, bleib mit deiner Gnade.*" From David Denike, († 1680,) we have about twenty hymns; among them, "*Wenn ich die heiligen Zehn Gebot,*" and "*Hilf Gott, wie hat der Teufel itzt die Leut in seinen Stricken.*" Justus Gesenius, his colleague, († 1671, as Dr. of Theology and General Superintendent in Hanover,) wrote also several hymns of the better class. He and Denike published besides, the Hanoverian Hymn Book, remarkable as being the first that ventured to give older hymns in an altered form. The alterations, it is true, regarded only faults in the versification and language of these earlier compositions, leaving their sound Christian matter and substance untouched; but still they were a small prelude in their way to the more serious rage for innovation which came to prevail at a later time. With these may be named Tobias Clausnitzer, the author of the universally familiar hymn, "*Leibster Jesu wir sind hier;*" and the noble minded Martin Rinkart, who composed, on the occasion of the Westphalian Peace, that stirring, trumpet toned anthem, "*Nun danket alle Gott, mit Herzen, Mund und Haenden.*"

As forming the Königsberg or Prussian school of the time,

the subject requires us to notice : Simon Dach, its proper master and head, († 1659,) worthy of imitation, less through his poetical genius, however, than his cultivated style, as a pattern of contemplative lyrical composition ; we have from him about one hundred and fifty hymns. Henry Alberti, organist to the Cathedral Church in Königsberg ; he distinguished himself, not merely as the composer of a number of excellent choral melodies, but also the author himself of several good hymns. Valentin Thilo, Professor of Rhetoric, († 1662,) to whom we owe the hymn, "*Mit Ernst ihr Menschenkinder.*"

The most brilliant position here, however, belongs to the pious and devoted Paul Gerhard, († 1676, as Pastor at Lübben,) in whose person finally we have the transition from the first leading or main period of the German hymnology over to the second. He was at home himself, we may say, in both, worthily closing the older stadium as he worthily introduced also the new. "Gerhard's poems," Wackernagel aptly remarks, "mirror the transitional character of his age, in which the subjective tendency, the power of individual feeling began to make itself felt in connection with the more objective confessional spirit of the time going before ; so that we may look upon him as the last and most complete of the religious poets, whose minds moved strictly in the confession and faith of the Church, as a system of facts beyond themselves, while he is seen also to lead the way for the succession of that different class, in whose hymns the adoration of God, and homage to the revelation of his attributes and works, yield to the expression of those sentiments, with which the soul is overpowered in view of its own relations to the High and Holy One. He stood on the summit of the age, and both tendencies were united in him with the fullest life." Of the one hundred and twenty hymns composed by him, more than thirty are classic models for all time ; such as : "Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund ;" "Ich weiss, dass mein Erlöser lebt ;" "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden ;" &c.

Dividing again, as is variously done, the second main period of the German hymnology, from Gerhard to Gellert, (1650-1760,) into subordinate sections, we may include in the first,

the immediate discipleship of Gerhard himself, a school whose lyrical productions in general bear the character of popular believing devotion. As belonging to this circle, we name: The pious princess, Louisa Henrietta of Brandenburg, († 1667,) who composed four hymns; among these the two of classic celebrity, "Jesus meine Zuversicht" and "Ich will von meiner Missethat." William II., Duke of Saxe-Weimar, honored with the title of "Der Schmachhafte," († 1662;) the author, among several other hymns of the one still in common use, "Herr Jesu Christ dich zu uns wend." John Maukisch, († 1669,) author of "Ach Jesu gieb mir sanften Muth." George Neumark, ornamented as a member of the "Fructiferous Society" with the title of "Der Sprossende;" he composed the well known hymn, "Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten," and furnished it also with its proper melody or tune. John Frank († 1677); he wrote about one hundred and ten hymns, which bear a close relation to those of Gerhard, but at the same time give much more prominence to the subjective element, and first begin to strike the chord of that longing after inward union with Christ, whose vibrations enter so largely soon afterwards into the poetry of the Church. Ernst Christoph Homburg, known in the Poetical Society before named, under the title of "Der Keusche," and possessing much of the same character, († 1681;) among his one hundred and fifty sacred lyrics is included the beautiful Passion hymn, "Jesu, meines Lebens Leben." We mention besides only John George Albinus, and Michael Schrimmer, with whom this particular circle may be regarded as coming to a close.

Next follows the Nuremberg circle, members for the most part of a particular Poetical Fraternity established in that place, the leading characteristic of whose compositions may be given as devotional sentimentalism. We have in the case, as Gervinus well remarks, a transition from David to Solomon; and what the Psalms had been before, Solomon's Song became now with the class before us, in the way of type for sacred poetry. As writers of this sentimental pastoral order, it may be sufficient simply to name: George Philip Harsdörf, the original founder of the order; Sigismund von Birken; Andre-

as Ingolstetter; Christopher Wegleiter; and George Christopher Schwämmlein. From these we have quite a number of hymns; some of which are acknowledged to be of lasting merit.

The third circle is formed by the poets of what has been styled, "the second Silesian school;" the character of which Koch, the author of this classification, makes to be a certain mystical habit joined to the sentimentality of the previous class. This holds good in truth, however, only of some few among the Silesian poets; and these are to be regarded as solitary harbingers of the tendency which was afterwards brought out by the influence of Spener, rather than as the proper representatives of the Silesian hymnology in general. The succession of the proper mystical sentimentalists opens with John Scheffler, († 1677,) the title of whose poetry, "*Heilige Seelenlust, oder geistliche Hirtenlieder der in ihren Jesum verliebten Psyche*," is of itself sufficient to show the contact of his mind with the writings of Schwenkfeld and Weigel, as well as the influence which had been exercised upon it by the lyrical school of Nuremberg. He passed over finally to the Catholic Church. Then we have Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, († 1689,) a kindred spirit, known by his alchymistic and cabbalistic studies, the results of which were embodied in his famous "*Kabbala Denudata*." Of his seventy-five hymns, glowing throughout with desire for union with Christ, one of the best known is, "*Morgenglanz der Ewigkeit*." A similar character belongs to the two hundred and fifteen hymns of Ludämilia Elizabeth, Countess of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, († 1672,) who, even in early youth, despised the world and held "to her Jesus;" as a specimen of her composition, we may mention the sacramental hymn, "*Jetzt kommt mein Gott, ein armer Gast*." Her friend and counselor, Dr. Ahasuerus Fritsch, afterwards Chancellor of the University of Jena, († 1701,) known as the founder of the "*Jesusgesellschaft*," and as the author of "*Hundert ein und zwanzig neuen himmelsüssen Jesusliedern*," belongs to the same mystical tendency.

In proportion, however, as the Christian faith in the latter

part of the seventeenth century, stiffened into cold dead orthodoxy in one direction, and ran into transcendental mysticism in another, there was felt to be both occasion and need for a renovation in the hymnology of the Church as well as in its religious life generally; such as now arose in fact, through the agency mainly of the celebrated Philip Jacob Spener, († 1705;) who opens the way accordingly for a new and widely important era in the history which we have here in hand. He himself composed nine hymns, all pervaded with the deepest Christian feeling. As belonging to his immediate school, and breathing the same spirit with himself, we name: John Caspar Schade, (1698,) so true a servant of the Lord, Spener tells us, that he knew not any his like. The pious and excellent Scribe, (1698,) author of the celebrated hymn, "Jesu meiner Seelen Leben," in which every verse ends with the refrain, "Ich bin dein, und du bist mein," *allerliebstes Jesulein.*" Baron von Kanitz, († 1699,) Prussian Privy Counsellor, and the intimate friend of Spener in Berlin, distinguished for the union of clear, sound judgment, with the spirit of deep and earnest devotion. John Jacob Schütz, († 1690,) author of the truly churchly and beautiful hymn, "Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut." Joachim Neander, German Reformed preacher of St. Martin's church, in Bremen; without poetical brilliancy, his hymns, nevertheless, abound in hearty fervor, are biblical in thought and expression, and avoid all unclean mysticism. Christopher Titius, († 1703,) the writer of fifty-four hymns. Adam Drese, organist in Weimar; suddenly converted from a gay worldly life in 1680, by Spener's writings, and known afterwards as a decided Pietist, († 1718;) author of the hymn, "Seelen bräutigam, Jesu Gotteslamm." Caspar Frederick Nachtenhöfer († 1685). Samuel Rodigast († 1708). Laurentius Laurenti, († 1722;) he wrote a collection of one hundred and forty-nine hymns, under the title, "*Evangelia Melodica.*" Cyriacus Günther († 1704).

These represent what may be regarded as the sound and legitimate form of the Spenerian movement. It is well known, however, that there was a tendency in it also to aberration and excess. This gave rise even in his own lifetime, to three dif-

ferent lines of thinking, which afterwards became more fully developed as so many separate offshoots from his religious system namely, the Mystico-Separatistic, the Pietistic, and the Moravians. These exerted severally an important influence in the sphere of hymnology, and produced in fact three different types of religious poetry, each bearing its own distinctive character and stamp.

Among the writers of the first class, it may be sufficient to mention the names simply of the celebrated Gottfried Arnold, Conrad Dipple, ("Christianus Democritus," as he styled himself,) and Gerard Tersteegen. This last has been pronounced the best lyrical poet of the Reformed Church. His hymns are characterized by a most artless simplicity, but possess at the same time an inimitable depth and force. From Arnold we have one hundred and thirty hymns; "divine love sparks," according to his own title in one case, "sprung and collected from the great fire of God's love in Christ Jesus." Altogether the school was very active in hymnological efforts, as appears from its various collections; among which may be cited in particular, "*Jesuslieder für seine Glieder, sönnderlich für die Kleine und Reine, die mehr im Wesen haben als im Scheine*," a work published in two parts, 1720 and 1723.

A far wider field, however, opens before us in the hymnology of the Pietists. Here, also, as in the case of the Mystics, the reigning character is subjectivity, and what we may call the intensification of personal experience, in the form of love to the Saviour and daily soul conflicts with the power of indwelling sin. The tendency groups itself again into three divisions or branches.

First, we have the Pietistic school of Halle. This includes: The celebrated founder of the Orphan House, Aug. Herm. Franke, († 1727,) whose praise is in the whole Christian world; he wrote the two hymns in common use, "*Gott Lob, ein Schritt zur Ewigkeit*" and "*Was von aussen und von innen*." His son-in-law, John Anastasius Frelinghausen, († 1730.) Joachim Justus Breithaupt, († 1732.) Joachim Lange, the distinguished defender of the Pietists against Valentine Löscher and the philosopher Wolf, († 1744.) John Daniel Herrn-

schmidt, († 1723.) Christ. Fred. Richter, the pious physician, of the Orphan House, († 1711.) John Henry Schröder, († 1728.) John Eusebius Schmidt, († 1745.) Peter Lackmann, († 1713.) John Joseph Winkler, († 1722.) Wolfg. Christ. Dessler, († 1722.) Ludw. And. Gotter, († 1735;) a most fruitful writer, who turned the whole Psalter into a rhyme, wrought the history of the Passion into a poem of sixty-seven verses, and composed altogether as many as two hundred and thirty-one hymns. Barthol. Crassius, († 1724.) Michael Müller, († 1704.) John Muthmann, († 1747.) Ernst Lange, († 1727.) Emily Juliana, Countess of Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt, († 1706;) she wrote five hundred and eighty hymns; among them, "Wer weias, wie nahe mir mein Ende." The whole collection appeared after her death, under the title "Der Freuendin des Lammes geistlicher Brautschmuck;" and may be considered a sort of connecting link between the older and younger fashions of this school; participating largely as it does in the forms of thought and expression which give to the last its distinctive peculiarity.

This peculiarity consists in the great extreme, to which the subjective tendency is allowed to proceed. Sound Christian feeling, under its influence, degenerates more and more into a sort of fond love-sick sensibility; and for the proper gravity and simplicity of true devotional language is substituted a more affected diction, forced and obscure, abounding in images and allegories drawn from the Old Testament, in which more particularly the bridal relation of the soul espoused to Christ is portrayed frequently in an unbecoming manner.

The best specimens of the style are: Charles Henry von Bogatsky, the author of the widely famous "Güldenes Schatzkästlein," († 1774,) who wrote upwards of four hundred hymns. Ulrich Bogislaus von Bonin, († 1752;) originally a soldier, who afterwards studied theology at Halle. Benigna Maria, Countess of Reuss-Ebersdorf, († 1751;) a woman, in whom an unusual extent of learning, such as embraced even a thorough knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, was joined with the most truly child-like humility and love to the Saviour.

It is, however, in what is known as the Cothen circle, that

we are to look for the most decided expression of this later style of the Halle Pietism. One of its leading representatives was John Louis Conrad Allendorf, Court Preacher at Cothen, afterwards School Inspector in Halle, († 1773 ;) he wrote one hundred and thirty-two "Love Songs to Christ, the Lamb of God and Bridegroom of Believing Souls;" and published also the so-called Cothen collection of hymns, which, from a comparatively small beginning, grew into continually larger size, till at last we find it brought out at Halle in three parts. To the same circle belong: Leopold Francis Frederick Lehr, († 1744,) whose hymns were collected under the title, "Heavenly Delight in God and Christ." Samuel Lau, († 1746,) author of the hymn, "Ach Herr, du wollest die Wehmuth stillen." Christ. Ludw. Scheitt, Court Counsellor and Librarian at Hanover, († 1761,) whose hymns were taken into the Cothen collection. John Sigism. Kunth, († 1779,) to whom we owe the fine hymn, "Es ist noch eine Ruh vorhanden." Ern. Gottlieb Woltersdorf, († 1761,) the writer of two hundred and eighteen hymns, which he published under the title of "Evangelical Psalms."

The second branch of the Pietistic school takes its name from Wurtemberg. Its poetry preserves throughout a more sound and healthful character than that of the Halle school; avoids the too amorous tone especially of its later development, as this appears in the Cothen circle; adheres mainly to the strong and pithy language of the Bible, and instead of losing itself with Tersteegen, and the other mystics of Northern Germany, in the dark and hidden depths of the soul's own life in God, seeks joy and freedom rather after the example of Bengel, and in the true spirit of Suabian hopefulness and faith, in the contemplation of things to come and the prospect of everlasting life. "I have taken pains," says Phil. Fred. Hiller, one of the leading poets of this school, "to cultivate simplicity; avoiding the exaggerated expressions of a high flowing fancy, and those quite too familiar terms in which some allow themselves to speak of Christ as a brother, of kisses and embraces, of single souls as though each were separately a bride of Christ, or of child-like fondlings of Jesus considered as a little child.

For such reverence towards the majesty of our Saviour, I shall not be blamed certainly by serious minds." He died as pastor in Steinheim, a. 1769; having written no less than one thousand and seventy-nine hymns, most of them of very considerable merit. In particular his "*Liederküstlein*," found universal popularity, and next to the Bible and Arndt's "*Wahres Christenthum*," Knapp tells us, contributed by its general use to form that peculiar style of piety which is associated with the name of Old Wurtemberg. To the same school belong: John Reinhard Hedinger, Court Preacher in Stuttgart, († 1704,) distinguished both for his learning and piety. John Alb. Bengel, († 1752,) who, with his other large claims to praise, is favorably known also by his hymns. William Gottlieb Tasinger, († 1757.) John Christian Storr, († 1773,) one of Bengel's most worthy disciples. John Jacob von Moser, the noble martyr for truth and right, († 1785;) he produced upwards of one thousand excellent hymns; part of which were composed by him during his imprisonment at Hohentwiel, and written with a pair of snuffers on the white wall of the room in which he was confined. Christ. Charles Louis von Pfeil, († 1784;) a zealous admirer particularly of Bengel's apocalyptic ideas, which he wrought accordingly into the form of a series of hymns. He resembles Bogatzky at times.

The third branch of Pietism is that of Upper Lusatia. Here there is an approximation again, in sacred poetry, to the later school of Halle. As belonging to it we may name: Henrietta Catharine von Gersdorff, the grandmother of Zinzendorf, († 1726,) from whom comes the beautiful hymn, "*Befiehl dem Herren deine Wege*." John Mentzer, († 1734;) author, among others, of the New-Year's hymn, "*Nur Jesus, nichts als Jesus heisset*." John And. Rothe, Pastor at Berthelsdorf, under the patronage of Count Zinzendorf; with whom he labored a number of years, till at last their difference of views constrained him to resign his situation, and seek another place, († 1758.) One of his best hymns is the well known "*Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden*."

We come now to the hymnology of the Moravians. Unduly lauded in one direction, it has been as unreasonably disparaged

in another. Devotion to the Redeemer, the overwhelming sense of his love, the apprehension of his spiritual beauty as it shines through the cross, may be said to form its reigning tone. To the rich fulness of this feeling it owes its strength; to the absorbing exclusiveness of it again, as feeling merely apart from doctrine, may be attributed in a certain sense its weakness. On the whole, it is characterized by a large amount of lyrical simplicity, force, and beauty; although at times running into strange fantastical conceits and the most wonderful vagaries of enthusiastic nonsense. Zinzendorf himself composed upwards of two thousand hymns; many of which are deserving of all praise. His productivity was so great in this kind of composition, we are told, that he sometimes improvised verses for his congregation to sing as he gave them out. His son, Christ. Rénatus von Zinzendorf, († 1752,) holds a place also among the Moravian poets. We add here besides, as belonging to the list: The celebrated Bishop Aug. Gottlieb Spangenberg, the author of the "*Idea Fidei Fratrum*," († 1792;) who, for his learning and gentleness combined, was rightly styled the "*Melancthon*" of the communion. His successor in the episcopal office, the respectable and worthy Organist, Christian Gregory, sometimes named the "*Asaph of Herrnhut*;" a title which was earned by the composition of a large number of hymns, as well as by his services rendered to the cause of Church music in other ways. Finally, Henry von Bruiningk († 1795).

So much for the Mystics, Pietists, and Moravians. All this, however, gives us only one side of the hymnological history of the period now under consideration. To make it complete, we need to take into view what was going forward in this line at the same time among the Orthodox, the party which made a merit of honoring and obeying the authority of the Church in its established form.

Here we find, in the first place, what deserves to be honored as a sound conservative interest, which made itself felt with salutary force in the way of at least partial counterpoise to the extreme subjectivity of the opposite unchurchly and unconfessional tendency. We may name as its highly respectable rep-

representatives : "John Jacob Rambach, Professor of Theology in Giessen, († 1735;) one of the most distinguished divines of the age, in whom the love of sound doctrine, and zeal for practical piety, were blended together in the most happy combination. This is shown in his hymns; which are so formed as to address at once both the understanding and the heart. Erdmann Neumeister, Pastor in Hamburg, († 1756;) a very fruitful writer, from whom we have about seven hundred hymns; in which, for the most part, a genuine sense of personal practical Christianity prevails, free alike from dry didactic formality and high wrought spiritual sentimentalism. To his collection belong the universally popular "Eitle Welt, ich bin dein müde," and "Jesus nimmt die Sünder an;" hymns, which would hardly have led one to guess, that the author was known all his life as the foe of Pietism, and one of the most earnest opponents of "Spener's errors." Valentine Ernst Löscher, Pastor in Dresden, († 1749;) known as a more earnest champion still of the unadulterated Lutheran faith; the very learned and highly celebrated leader and head of the orthodox party for years, in opposition to the Spenerian movement. Bernard Walther Marperger, († 1746;) a man of mild Melancthonian spirit, whose moderation drew upon him, with some, the reproach of being himself too favorably inclined to the Pietistic interest. Solomon Frank, of Weimar, († 1725;) the author of about three hundred hymns. Benjamin Schmolck, († 1737;) styled sometimes the "Silesian Rist," or the "Second Apitz," in compliment to his poetical merits; who has left us in all eleven hundred and eighty-eight sacred songs, the greater part of them good, both as to matter and style. He took for his pattern Paul Gerhard; and although not equal to him in poetical elevation, he succeeded very well for the most part in seizing his popular homelike tone; which has caused his hymns to be used among pious families in Silesia, in their morning and evening devotions, down to the present time; making him in this respect for Silesia, what Hiller has been to Württemberg.

Looking in another direction, however, we find the spirit of sacred poetry in a process of marked deterioration and decline.

Witness such monuments as these following: The collection of Pastor Henry Cornelius Hecker, († 1743;) made up of hymns which he composed as recapitulations of his own sermons, with the view of reducing, as he said, all the articles of faith and morals to verse. The "*Evangelisch Liedertheologie*" of Peter Busch, Pastor in Hanover, († 1744,) in like strain. The "*Theologia in Hymnis*," published about the same time by Jacob Gottschald, containing a number of metrical tracts on single points of morality, such as the love of dress, the passion for gaming, the use of tobacco, dancing, &c. Finally, though of somewhat earlier date, the collection of Laurence Hartmann, of Critzkow, under the title of "*Des geistlichen und evangelischen Zions neue Ständeslieder*," made up of hymns for the different professions and trades, clerks, farmers, barbers, &c., taken in alphabetical order.

The period that commences so brilliantly with Paul Gerhard, is to be regarded as dying out in these manifestations. The time called for a new genius, who might be the creator of a new era in the history of sacred song. Such in fact was the pious Christian Fürchtegott Gellert; who died a. 1756, as Professor of Philosophy in Leipzig.

Gellert is to be judged from his own age. We do not find in him the tone of strong vigorous faith, which characterizes the compositions of Luther or Paul Gerhard. But it must be borne in mind, that the time also in which he lived had become altogether different. The objective power of Christianity, considered as a system of pure outward revelation, was in large measure broken. To the subjectivity of mere feeling, the Pietistic tendency, in one direction, there had come to be opposed the strangely kindred subjectivity of mere intellect, the Rationalistic tendency, in another. It was the age of skepticism and of little faith. Gellert's poetry is addressed throughout to this habit of mind; and his merit lies in the power and skill, with which he was able to adapt himself to its religious necessities and wants. Correct, grave, clear, at once didactic and pathetic, his hymns commanded the respect of those who affected to despise the antiquated ideas of previous times, and went at once both to the understanding and heart of all

classes of people. Hence their wide popularity, continuing down to the present time.

But, however good and useful his hymns may have been found, in the view now mentioned, it is still certain that the author stood himself in the bosom of the general religious life, to whose infirmities his mission called him to condescend ; and it is not, therefore, wholly without cause, we may believe, that he has been sometimes represented as one, whose influence served powerfully after all to help forward the reigning rationalistic tendency of the seventeenth century, as it comes out more fully in the mere moralizing tone of others, who feebly attempted to imitate his manner and style. Be this as it may, it is certain at all events that Rationalism now began to make itself felt in the field of hymnology more and more in this way. It became the fashion to take exception to the older hymns, as being out of taste, when the objection lay in fact to their theological heart and life. They must be either modernised or allowed to go into decay. It was the time for moralities rather than mysticisms. Virtues and duties seemed fitter themes for sacred song than the facts of grace or the objects of faith.

Along with Gellert, it is common to name Klopstock, the celebrated author of the "Messiah," († 1803,) as a leader also in the new era of poetry, of which we are now speaking. His own conception of the significance of his supposed vocation in this view, seems at any rate to have been sufficiently high. "I have entered upon a business," he writes in one of his letters, "which I consider my second calling ; namely, the composition of hymns for public worship, one of the hardest things, in my judgment, which a man can undertake. One must be intelligible to the general mass of people, and still do justice to the dignity of religion. It seems to me, however, that God has given me grace to do the work with some success." But in truth his qualifications for any such service were very small. He participated eagerly in the general disposition of the age to substitute reflection, or mere imagination, for faith. He lacked, besides, altogether that hearty popularity of style, which is needed to carry thoughts home to the common mind.

His hymns are elaborate, high sounding odes ; rhapsodies rather, that move on exclamation points like stilts. It is a significant commentary, indeed, on the spirit of the age, that such compositions were able at all to command its admiration. In fact, however, he *was* admired far and wide. With many his hymns were held to be master-pieces of art, "sounding like the resurrection trumpet to the lowest depths of the earth and, far above the stars." With such reputation, Klopstock had, of course, as well as Gellert, many imitators.

To the Klopstock circle belong : John And. Cramer, Chancellor of the University of Kiel, († 1788 ;) known principally by his translation of the Psalms ; his hymnological style loses itself at times in the clouds of mere pathological declamation. John Casp. Lavater, († 1801 ;) the genial and eloquent pastor of St. Peter's church at Zurich ; who has left behind him as many as seven hundred hymns. Christopher Christian Sturm, († 1786 ;) the "singer of God's greatness and goodness in Creation and Providence ;" some of whose works have been widely popular, through translations, in other countries. He preached Christ and the Atonement, we are told, in his pulpit at Hamburg ; while in his writings, both poetry and prose, before the world at large, his religion seems to run out for the most part into the sentimental contemplation of mere nature ; in compliment of course to the polite but wretchedly shallow "Aufklärung" of the period to which it was his misfortune to belong. Christian Fred. Dan. Schubart, († 1791 ;) he composed a number of hymns, chiefly during his imprisonment of ten years in the castle of Hohenasperg ; whose declamatory pathos, however, was shown clearly enough to have been the fruit of mere transient religious impressions, when he himself soon after forgot all, and lent his talent to the service of the world as theatrical poet in Stuttgart.

The tendency which affected to carry out the spirit of Gellert, was only the same imbecility of faith under another and somewhat different form. Having no power to say, "I believe, and therefore I speak," the religious weakness in question was put to the necessity of making up for such absence of positive Christianity in some other way ; and for this the choice seemed

to lie necessarily between the theatrical parade of sentimental feeling, in the style of Klopstock, on the one hand, and the moralizing tone of mere naturalism, which miserably aped the style of Gellert, on the other. Under this latter character, accordingly, the rationalistic spirit of the age made itself felt in the sphere of hymnology, still more broadly than under the former. It is not necessary here to go into details, or to quote names. All who took part in the movement were not of course equally deficient in the right sort of purpose and ability. But even the better poets and best hymns, belonging to it, were not free, generally, from some mark of the dreary and sickly atmosphere in which they had their growth; while altogether the process was such as to involve, more and more, an entire corruption of the sacred interest, unhappily subjected to its power. New hymn books appeared, with all sorts of so-called "*Verbesserungen*," suited to the culture of the age; in the use of which the congregations were taught and encouraged everywhere, to sing themselves genteelly into full forgetfulness of the faith once sung by their fathers.

With the general religious reaction of later years, which it is usual to date from the "tricentennial jubilee" of the Reformation in 1817, and to regard as the result, at least in part, of the overflowing social and political calamities of the time going before, there has appeared, as might naturally be expected, a sounder feeling also in regard to the hymnology of the Church, and a disposition to see it reanimated once more, if possible, with something of the power of its old life. To what the efforts, which are made for this purpose, may at last come, remain yet to be seen. The great difficulty is, that they are too much the offspring of mere artistic judgment and taste. What is thus composed, with reflection and calculation, can never be popular poetry, in the full sense of the term. It is *for* the people only, not *from* the people, the unconscious outbirth, as it were, of their own life. "However elegant and correct these modern compositions may be," says Gervinus, "and allowing them also to be the product of genuine piety and belief, no one can persuade me that they carry in them the same old faith which gave birth to the old hymns, and

along with this the young fresh strength which sung those old hymns as shield and sword against all evil. Our Christian convictions simply taken may have become intellectually better grounded, our taste more cultivated, our versification and music more artificially complete; but the imposing power of that old faith, the grandeur of that unpretending simplicity, which works far more deeply than the most finished refinement of the modern hymns, is for the present lost to us in religion, poetry and music." This is a melancholy judgment, coming from so high a source; but it is one, for which we fear that there is but too good reason in the actual state of the Church at this time in Germany.

This article leaves out of view entirely the hymnology of Protestant Christianity in other countries. Historically considered, this cannot be said to deserve indeed much separate consideration. The history of hymnic poetry, as an art, has continued to flow ever since the Reformation, with by far its broadest and deepest stream, in Protestant Germany; and here also, what is curious to observe, almost, though not altogether, exclusively in the bosom of the Lutheran Church.

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J. W. N.

ART. IV.—HISTORICAL PRETENSIONS OF FREE-MASONRY.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the merit or demerit of Masonry as an existing institution. It may have one or the other of these, for aught we know, or wish to inquire at this time. It is well known that honest, and respectable, and religious men in almost every community are members of the order, and to these we hope to say nothing offensive, as they will have the discrimination to perceive that the discussion to

which we invite them does not pertain, except incidentally, to the essential nature, but only to the historical claims of the institution. We propose to ourselves merely an exercitation in the wide field of history.

The historical questions pertaining to any institution are always important, especially where the institution, unlike the ladies, is particularly desirous to be considered ancient. And historical questions are amongst those which any student, whether initiated or uninitiated, is fully authorized to investigate. The field of history is a broad, free common, where there are no pre-emption rights, and no authority to forbid trespass. And any one is at liberty to expose historical pretensions which are unfounded, because the sanction of antiquity is too weighty and sacred to allow it to be unjustly appropriated. Besides, groundless claims to great antiquity, involve a sort of false pretence or fraud upon society, which any man may feel morally bound to expose. The particular sphere in which the claims are put forth is of no consequence; the claims themselves, in so far as they are historical, must ever be open to scrutiny. Any one who knew the facts would not only have been authorized, but in honor bound to prove that Barnum's negro woman, whom he passed off upon the credulous public as the nurse of General Washington, aged one hundred and thirty, was not honored with any such particular age. If the *quondam* Know-Nothings had put forth the claim that they were the legitimate successors of the order of friars in Italy in the sixteenth century, who bound themselves by solemn oaths that they would neither know, learn, nor understand anything at all, but answer every question by the word, "*ne scio*,"—I know nothing,—we should feel at liberty to say they were mistaken, and to show that the claim to such antiquity was wholly unfounded. We hold that historical pretensions, of whatever kind, are always open to discussion and must abide the scrutiny of fair investigation.

But it is quite possible that some of the "brethren of the mystic tie," would fain meet us at the outset with a caveat, and attempt to bar all further proceedings on the ground that we, being among the uninitiated, are not competent to investi-

gate the question,—that Masonry has a secret history by which its great antiquity is proved, and which cannot be known by outsiders,—that its traditional cabala or mysteries, have never been revealed, and cannot be revealed outside of its own mystic circle, and hence that none but a Freemason can be fully certified respecting the origin of the order. The justice or force of this caveat we utterly repudiate, and we would carry it before any competent historical tribunal, and show that from the very nature of the case, it cannot be of any avail. The order may succeed in keeping secret its existing rites and signs of recognition, but it cannot thus throw the mantle of fog over history. It might as well try to hide the sun in the heavens with an umbrella. The facts and documents which make up history cannot be hid under a bushel, nor can a perverted construction of the facts of history long escape the searching eye of an intelligent age. Of this we have already seen some noted examples, and doubtless the coming age is to witness others. The periodical convulsions which attend the passing away of old fabrics and the rise of new forms of civilization, completely rend the veil from all attempted concealment, and history makes its own foot-prints too distinctly to allow an imposture to escape detection forever. The origin, rise and internal structure of the Eleusinian and Dionysian mysteries of ancient Greece are as well known now to the antiquary as anything else pertaining to that remarkable nation, and yet never was an attempt at concealment more persistent or successful. The Freemason who trusts to his traditional cabala, in matters of history, is embracing a phantom, taking for his guide a mere will-o'-the-wisp, which, though it may lead him into no imminent peril, may yet play fantastic tricks with his common sense. No other institution which is worth anything to mankind, Christianity for instance, or jurisprudence, could stand for a moment before the civilized world on any such plea. Besides, we can judge masonry, historically, out of its own mouth. It is a house divided against itself. Its history has been carefully written by those who stood high in its own ranks, and who take the ground that its historical pretensions are no part of its intrinsic nature, and that its an-

cient features are mere incidentals attached to it during the progress of its growth, some of them in comparatively modern times. And indeed the whole internal structure of the order too plainly tells of its origin to be mistaken by any one not deceived by a false light.

As to interpretations put by Masons upon authentic written history, seeing hidden traces of their order in it where nobody else can see them, we hold them also to be mere moonshine. For instance, we have been told in all seriousness, by intelligent persons, and the same thing is intimated in the ceremonies of the order, that in the Scriptures, Old Testament and New, there are passages which none but a Mason can understand, because they refer to the order as then existing,—and the advantage of the same superior perception is also possessed in the reading of profane history. Now, this historical second sight we hold to be a mere juggle; and so far as it pertains to the Scriptures, we reject it with scorn, as not only presumptuous but impious. It is an attempt to crib up the words of God's revelation to a fallen world within the limits of an order which has no authenticated claims to be a religious or divine institution.

But it may be averred, again, that we ourselves, in refuting the most ancient claims of Masonry, are fighting a shadow,—that nobody in the order believes these extravagant claims, or asserts them seriously. We answer, that to a considerable extent, this is the case. A large number of the more intelligent are not imposed on by the traditionary cabala of the institution. But it is not so with all, or even perhaps the majority. Nor is this strange, when we consider the text books which are put into their hands, or the lessons with which they are edified in the lodges. The literature of Masonry abounds in these claims, asserted, if not seriously, then dishonestly. Respectable clergymen, some of their names adorned with the "semi-lunar fardel," as Dr. Cox called the epidemic ecclesiastical title, have not refrained from reiterating these claims, or even attempting elaborately to wheedle them into credibility. And we have repeatedly met persons of no mean intelligence, who believed as firmly that Freemasonry was in existence at the building of

Solomon's temple as that said temple was built at all, and that Melchizedek, and Solomon, and his man Hiram, and Zerubabel, and Nehemiah, and Ezra, and John the Baptist, were high functionaries in the order, as that these persons existed at all. And indeed to our apprehension it is a grave problem how men of high moral integrity can submit to be passed through the various degrees of masonry, and be instrumental in passing others through them, who do *not believe* some such things as these. This problem will rise to the mind of any one who will peruse any Free Mason's Manual.

Let us, then, briefly state *what are* some of the leading historical pretensions of Free-masonry, as set forth by divers of their own writers, and by the ceremonies of the order. And if any astonished reader should be incredulous as to these pretensions, we invite him to the perusal of any one of some half dozen Manuals, Monitors, Hand Books, &c., which may be obtained in the neighborhood of almost any Lodge.

The earliest date which we have seen assigned as the origin of the institution, is *the creation of the world*. God himself, the great architect of the universe, if we are to trust the chronicles of Masonry, fully initiated Adam and Eve into all the mysteries of the craft. To this some wag has rejoined that perhaps an earlier date still might be found, viz: among that portion of the angels which fell, and that the knowledge of it might have come to Adam and Eve through that source. But we are not aware that this either is a matter of authentic history. If it be said with regard to the first assertion, that theoretical, or ideal masonry is meant, or in other words that God imbued the minds of our first parents with the virtues and moral principles which Masonry now inculcates, then the claim means nothing at all, and may with equal justice be appropriated by any other society which inculcates the same moralities and virtues. If more than this is meant its absurdity is its own refutation.

The next date which has been mentioned is the building of the *tower of Babel*. There is a deficiency of zeal, however, in the advocacy of this point, because, perhaps, as in the case of some aristocratic pedigrees, which, if traced backward, ter-

minate in a waxed end or a halter, it might be thought of rather questionable expediency. But it is confidently asserted that from the creation down through succeeding ages, wherever arts and civilization have arisen, wherever there are the ruins of ancient cities and once massive and gorgeous temples, the monuments of antique greatness, there are the traces not only of the masonry of the hammer and the chisel, but the masonry of the modern lodge. And indeed it is not obscurely hinted that the origin of all true civilization is to be traced to the occult knowledge treasured in the mystic institution.

The next point, about which there is the greatest flourish of trumpets, is the building of *Solomon's Temple*. The select Master Mason, whose vision has been purified by passing through all the mysteries of the nine degrees, says that in the account given in the Bible, and in Josephus, of the building of the Temple, are to be clearly discerned the traces of the institution in its full blown development. Lodges were formerly dedicated to king Solomon as the first Most Excellent Grand Master. In passing to the third degree of Masonry, that of Master Mason, the candidate is given, among other things, some valuable details (so says the book) of the traditions of the craft concerning the building of Solomon's Temple. And in the modern poetry of Masonry, (which by the way takes most unwarrantable liberties with Christian hymnology) the Muses are called in to celebrate the same.

Hiram, the architect,
Did all the work direct
How they should build;
Solomon, great Israel's King,
Did mighty blessings bring,
And left us room to sing
Hail, royal Art.

Now, with regard to the historical basis on which all this rests, it is very much like Sandy MacKaye's "Samothracian mysteries o' bottled moonshine." The letter of Solomon to Hiram, King of Tyre, as given in the Scriptures and in Josephus, is as plain a matter-of-fact letter as any that may have passed between the committee of Congress and the architect of the Smithsonian Institution, and the whole detail of the organiza-

tion of the workmen into companions under captains and overseers, is as simple and comprehensible and natural as the organization of labor in any modern factory. The mystical interpretation which sees a hidden meaning under it all, of the kind which Masonry sees, is about on a par with the vagaries of George Fox, or of certain Christian interpreters of the figurative or symbolical school, who say that Peter's having two swords at the time of Christ's capture, signified the spiritual and temporal power of the pope. It is in fact as destitute of substratum as the universe of the extreme German Idealism, which some one has humorously characterized in the language of the schoolmen as *Chimera dominans in vacuo*.

Among the degrees of Knighthood which have been transferred to the Masonic institution, the order of Knights of the Red Cross, which is intimately connected with the Degree of Royal Arch Mason, is claimed to have been originated by Darius the Mede, at the instigation of Zerubbabel, in commemoration of the fulfilment of his vow to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem. The order which he is said to have established were called Knights of the East, and are now known as Red Cross Knights, from the badge which distinguished them on their return from the Crusades in the Holy Land. It is matter of authentic record, that such a monarch as Darius reigned in Babylon about five hundred years before the Christian era; that the said Darius made a decree to rebuild the Temple of the Lord at Jerusalem; and that Zerubbabel was instrumental in carrying out that decree, but the matter of the Knights of the East does not appear upon the record, and must be brought up from beneath it by some such process as that by which Signor Blitz brings out chickens, and rabbits, and eggs, and old shoes from the crown of a hat. It is also matter of history that the Knights of the Red Cross arose during the Crusades, but their historical connection with the Knights of the East of Darius the Mede, is about as credible as that the Sons of Temperance are the organized historical successors of the sons of Jonadab, who refused to drink wine, they and their sons forever, because of the commandment of their father.

It is claimed that John the Baptist, and St. John the Evan-

gelist, were eminent patrons of Masonry, and some have even been so bold as to affirm that the Saviour himself held an exalted position in the order, and that the greater portion of his teachings have a concealed reference to Masonry. This holy name we will not drag farther into this discussion. We are sorry for the necessity to have introduced it thus at all. Nor is it worth while seriously to discuss the Masonic claims to the other two, as the history we have yet to give of the Order, will be a sufficient refutation of all these extravagant and baseless pretensions. We may only say, that it is probable these eminent names are appropriated much in the same way that the literary societies of our Colleges elect all the distinguished men in the country "honorary members;" or that the Church of Rome is said to have canonized saints who never lived, and to have manufactured relics according to the demand for them. In the same manner nearly all the great names of ancient Greece are appropriated by the Masonic fraternity, Euclid, Pythagoras, Solon, Archimides, &c., all "honorary members."

It has been suggested that Free-masonry finds its true origin in the so-called "Mysteries" of ancient Greece, of which there were five different institutions, not particularly connected with each other, viz: the Eleusinian, the Samothracian, the Dyonisian, the Orphic, and the mysteries of Isis of Egyptian parentage. These mysteries were named either after their founder, or from the place where they were celebrated, or the divinity in whose honor they were instituted. But the resemblance between these Mysteries and Masonry is very slight, and in their radical ideas they are wholly distinct. These mysteries were essentially religious institutions, according to the ideas of religion then prevalent, and persons of all ages and of both sexes, were admitted to them. The whole structure of these mysteries, their symbols, and the ideas inculcated, were as totally different from those of Masonry as the mythological idea of the trident of Neptune is unlike a picture of an Irishman's hod.

Coming down to more modern times, various theories have been proposed of the origin of Free-masonry, and advocated with ability and learning,—which, as we conceive, shows that

Masonry, as it now exists, is like the order of architecture which the Romans made out of the Corinthian and Ionic, a *composite*, i. e., that it comes from many sources, arises in several divergent streams, which flowing together by the force of circumstances or of elective affinity, have contributed to constitute modern Free-masonry, so that each of the theories proposed and advocated may have a fragment of truth in them. The origin of the Order has been attributed by different writers to the Crusades, to the English Jesuits, to the Knights Templars, and to the Rosicrucians, a secret society of alchemists, natural philosophers and Christian enthusiasts in the sixteenth century, whose chief object consisted in two things, the reformation of the Church, and the discovery of the philosopher's stone.

But before proceeding to give what we conceive to be the most authentic history of the institution whose historic claims we are discussing, it is necessary to premise two or three general remarks. The first is, that secret societies, professing to embody, or actually embodying, some important mystery, have existed in all ages of the world, and among all nations, which have risen to the level of a semi-civilization. These secret societies have assumed every possible phase, and had for their root or core, almost every conceivable principle. They are among the phenomena which history develops, and they must rest upon certain peculiarities of our nature—whether good or evil, it is not for us now to say—but the *diversity* which they exhibit in principle and constitution, is as great as the diversity which exists in any other department of historic fact. There have been religious, political, scientific, philosophical, literary, social, and mechanical secret societies of which traces are discoverable from the earliest ages and amongst all civilized and half civilized nations. And the secrets or mysteries of which these were made the real or pretended repositories, were as various as the features of the societies themselves. And secret societies of the last sort mentioned, i. e. the *mechanical*, or those pertaining to the various trades or crafts, have also existed from very early times, wherever those trades or crafts have flourished. A similarity of occupation and in-

terest, especially in times of comparative ignorance and rudeness, when the possession of mechanical skill, and a knowledge of the occult arts pertaining to the mechanical branches, were regarded as great treasures, would naturally segregate men of the same craft together in such forms as to promote the cultivation and perpetuation of the skill and knowledge which they aimed to acquire. Like causes will generally produce like results, and if the same state of society which existed in the Middle Ages had existed at the building of the Tower of Babel, it is quite probable that secret societies would have sprung up then.

This being premised, our second remark is, that a *mere similarity* to certain features of ancient associations affords no proof that Free-masonry is historically connected with those associations, nor does the fact that such societies of trade or craft *may have existed* at the building of the Tower of Babel, or the pyramids of Egypt, or the palaces of Ninevah, or Carak, or Thebes, or the Temple of Solomon, or the Parthenon of Athens, authorize the *assumption* not only that they *did* exist, but that they furnish the *paternity* to the modern order of Freemasons. Assumption will not do in such a case—we demand historic proof. The mere fact of the similarity between the Know Nothings of the year of grace, 1854, and the Brothers of Ignorance of the sixteenth century, in each of them having as their watch-word, "I know nothing," does not prove that the one order is the lineal descendant of the other. The *assumptions* of Masonry in support of its antiquity, are as absurd as if every person of the name of Stuart should claim an ancestry from the throne of England.

It is in vain that we demand the usual authentications of historical fact. It is in vain we ask for data from the writings of the Rabbis, the voluminous commentaries of the Talmud, or the speculations of the philosophers of antiquity. We are not referred to the fragments of the great libraries of former ages. We are shown no manuscripts dim with the corrosions of centuries, which it has required the cultivation of a special branch of scholarship to decypher. We are stunned with no accounts of hieroglyphics upon ancient monuments or amid the exhumed

ruins of buried cities. But instead of all this, or any of it, we are offered a slight thread of unwritten tradition, so slight as to be intangible, and so soon lost in darkness that it seems to us impossible that a reasonable man should trust himself to its guidance for a moment.

Another remark is, respecting the *appearance* of antiquity which the order possesses in its internal structure. It is argued that there are in the structure of the institution itself, its interior ceremonies and symbols, evidences of the great antiquity which they claim for it. We reply, that it would be easy to show that these are all fabrications *post factum*, i. e. subsequent to the things referred to in the ceremonies and symbols. They have been incorporated to give it an appearance of antiquity; which was very easy to do by just appropriating and embodying in their symbolical usages the historical facts and personages of the Scriptures, just as Shakespeare introduces into his plays men and women who had been dead more than a thousand years. But does this prove that Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar and Timon of Athens, were not written in the beginning of the 17th century? In the corrupt period of the Middle Ages, when numerous innovations of doctrine and ceremony were introduced into the Church, the monks and priests, in order to give these innovations the sanction of antiquity *forged* numerous documents—epistles of fathers, letters of dying martyrs, and decretals of popes,—all testifying that the new doctrines and rites were parts of the ancient faith, and so skilfully were some of these forgeries executed that it is not very easy, even now, to distinguish them from the genuine. It is thus (though the offence is not so flagrant) that Free-masonry has *created* for itself a history to which it has no right. They have a way of building churches now so as to give them an antique appearance, and an edifice which has not been finished a week looks like a weather-beaten, moss-covered church a hundred years old. It is by a somewhat analogous process that the institution of Masonry has acquired its extremely ancient appearance.

But we have detained the reader long enough with these extravagant pretensions of Free-masonry. We propose a brief

sketch of the *actual rise and metamorphoses* of Masonry, which we suppose will furnish a refutation of all these pretensions,—and this history rests not on hermetically sealed traditionary cabala, but on the broad basis of authenticated fact.

Masonry has an honorable origin—for the muscular arm and the hard hand which wield the hammer and the trowel, betoken an honorable industry, and the skill and taste which conceive and execute imposing architecture, are qualities of mind which rank their possessor among men of genius and refinement. And Masonry has a *sufficiently* ancient origin to enable sensible men to dispense with those preposterous pretensions which rest only on moonshine. When the modern tourist to Europe pauses in awe-struck admiration before the gigantic architectural structures of the Middle Ages, whose hoary greatness reminds him of a world of ideas, and of men who have passed away—such for instance as the minster of Strasburg or Cologne, the Cathedral of Milan, or Meissen, or Rheims, or Oviedo, or the Convent of Tours, or Fulda, or Monte Cassino,—such an one stands upon the soil, and has before him the evidences of the origin of those affiliated societies of architects and workmen, to which modern Free-masonry may be historically traced. Probably the *idea* of these associations was derived from the ancient Romans; and hence it is necessary to go back a little farther. Amongst the Romans there were corporations of architects established and protected by law, and having certain constitutions and laws and immunities of their own, and the power of making laws for themselves, which were not contrary to the public laws. They had also certain religious rites, and regular meetings. These associations were called by the technical name of *Collegia*, or *Colleges* of workmen or artificers, and the character of their charters or constitutions may still be learned from the “body of the Roman law.” These corporations were solely intended to promote the arts and sciences, particularly those pertaining to architecture, and the only secrets they had were the secrets of their handicraft. These societies extended gradually into all the Roman Provinces, the *arts* of the conquering mistress of the world following close upon the conquests of her arms, and it is highly probable that

they extended even into Britain. But with the fall of the Roman Empire, and the destruction of Roman civilization in the greater part of Europe, by the rude and fierce Northmen, these societies also disappeared, and were lost in the chaos and darkness of the first period of the Middle Ages. But when arts and sciences and literature began to revive, and society to emerge from its chaos into the forms of modern European civilization, the necessity for such associations of workmen and architects again arose, and as the Roman law survived the wreck of the Empire and still survives, and is the basis of our own jurisprudence in this nineteenth century, the idea of these associations was gotten from it, and even the charters and constitutions of the old corporations, were, to some extent, imitated. The development of the religious ideas of those times, taking the direction of an unparalleled enthusiasm for splendid houses of worship, occasioned, in the flourishing period of the Middle Ages, architecture to assume a very great importance; and hence the societies of craft were greatly encouraged both by kings and nobles, and the dignitaries of the Church; and consequently they became invested with very great privileges, and became more and more exclusive in their character, and more wide-spread in their ramifications, until at length the building of all the cathedrals, and convents, and abbeys in all Europe and the British Isles was in the hands of an organized association of Italian, German, French, Spanish, English, Flemish and even Grecian architects, who called themselves by names somewhat similar to Free-masons; and had certain words and secret signs by which they pretended to know one another, and had certain ceremonies, partly mystical, partly religious, in their meetings. When a cathedral was to be built a company of these architects, with their assistants and pupils, came and encamped in huts near the spot, living in a community by themselves, and carried on their work with great expedition and a wonderful economy of expense. These encampments were called in German, *Huetten*, or lodging places—hence the modern name *lodge*. These lodges were places of speculation and inquiry, as well as for improvement in their mechanical knowledge, and hence there gradually arose among them a

system of speculative and philosophical mysteries, composed of fragments of the Greek and Egyptian mysteries, and certain doctrines of the Stoics and Gnostics, combined in fantastic forms with the doctrines of Christianity. To conceal these speculations and mysteries from the watchful eyes of the popes and ecclesiastics, who were ever on the look out for heresy, they observed the greatest secrecy, and invented a symbolical language which might elude even the most curious of the uninitiated inquisitors. It was owing to the fact that these speculative and philosophical heresies at last came to the knowledge of the Church, in connection with the fact that the society of Free-masons increased greatly, and the demand for their services consequently diminished as the great cathedrals were completed, and thus they became metamorphosed into societies, not having exclusive reference to building, that occasioned their persecution and ultimate suppression by the edicts of the popes.

The two chief points at which these lodges of architects were first erected in the British Isles, were at the building of the abbey of Kilwinning, in Scotland, and the cathedral of York, in England. Hence the origin of the ancient Scotch Masonry and of the ancient order of York Masons. From these two points Free-masonry spread over all Great Britain, being encouraged by the kings and bishops and nobles, and rose, in Great Britain, to a higher and more permanent prosperity than in any other part of Europe, and from these Islands again issued, at a later period, and spread all over Europe, where it had formerly been suppressed, appearing, however, in a very modified form, having little or no reference to the erection of buildings.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed that remarkable outburst of religious enthusiasm which found vent in the Crusades and the institutions of Chivalry. This movement gave rise to numerous religious orders of a military character; such as the Knights of the Temple, Knights of Malta, Knights of St. John, Knights of the Red Cross, &c. The main objects of these orders were the protection of pilgrims on the roads to Palestine, the defending of the poor and oppressed and the

destruction of the power of the Saracens in the Holy Land. They had badges and secret signs and ceremonies, and officers of various grades. But after the occasion which had given them birth had passed away, they fell into neglect and contempt if not corruption, and were not only held up as a target of ridicule to future ages by the scathing pen of Cervantes in *Don Quixotte*; but were charged with partial truth and partial untruth, with heresy and treasonous designs against the Church and the peace of society, and were persecuted and exterminated in the fourteenth century by Pope Clement V. and Philip the Fair of France. Free-masonry was then at its height, and the scattered and hunted knights sought refuge in the lodges of the Masons, and the two institutions were thus combined, and three orders of Knighthood, viz: the Knights of the Red Cross, the Knights of the Temple and the Knights of Malta exist in Masonry until this day.

About the time of the suppression of Free-masonry on the Continent, it suffered a great decline also in England, which continued until the beginning of the eighteenth century. This decline is attributable to the same fact which ultimately led to its suppression on the Continent, namely, the cessation of the demand for operative masonry and the increased numbers of workmen. To remedy this decline, the system was adopted of receiving into the lodges and initiating into the mysteries persons who were not masons or architects by profession. These were called *accepted* masons, a term by which the order is still designated. Exceptional cases of this kind had indeed been admitted from the ranks of nobles and kings and even priests, for a long time previous. But the custom did not become general, of admitting persons promiscuously from all ranks in life, until the seventeenth century, and it is impossible to discover a lodge of pure speculative masonry in England prior to 1717. The period of which we are speaking is that in which Masonry was undergoing its great transformation. The accepted masons crowded into the lodges so fast, and the hard-handed men of the trowel pursued their avocations independently of the order, that at length the new wine completely burst the old bottles. Like an Irish peasant's pantaloons

which are patched and patched and patched until at last it is impossible to tell what was the stuff of the original garment, the declining fortunes of Masonry were so effectually patched with *accepted* Masons, that at length they took entire possession of the order, and cut it loose altogether from its old foster mother *operative* Masonry. Like certain species of the animate creation, the order at this point *cast its old skin*, and appeared before the world in an entirely new dress, and some have even been so ungrateful as to try to disown its ever having worn the old skin at all. It was thus that *speculative* Masonry arose, and this is the only kind of Masonry now practised in the lodges. A Mason and a Freemason are now very different characters. If any of the sons of the original craft are found in the order they enter there not as masons, but as citizens; and one of the surest ways to break up all the lodges in Christendom, would be to compel every man of them to take up the mason-hammer and trowel and go to dressing stone and laying brick.

The necessary changes in the constitution and internal structure of the old Free-masonry, to adapt it to the new state of things, were made in 1717, by three members of the old lodges, George Payne, James Anderson, and Desaguliers, a Frenchman, resident in England. In making these changes, one important matter had to be taken care of. By retaining the *name* and *principal features and symbols* of the ancient fraternity, the new lodges retained the *privileges and charters* of those societies; but upon the basis of this nomenclature was erected the fabric of modern speculative Masonry, which one of its zealous admirers has declared to be more sublime and beautiful than the proudest structure which the ancient fraternity ever erected. So then the latest development, or production of Masonry, or in other words, Masonry *as it now exists*, dates back to the year of grace, 1717, a period of one hundred and thirty-nine years, between which and the time of Melchizedek, or even the building of Solomon's Temple, there is a considerable difference. Speculative Masonry having thus originated in England, it spread rapidly throughout Europe, and into every part of the world where the British lion

had planted his feet. In 1725 the first lodge on the English system was established in France. It was introduced into Germany in 1735; and into Holland the same year; into Denmark in 1743; into Sweden in 1754; into the East Indies in 1729, and into America 1730.

There is one fact connected with the history of modern, or speculative masonry which is worthy of a careful study by the friends of the order, as well as by the historian; it is its wonderful *pliability*, or proneness to take its shape and coloring from the state of society and of public opinion amidst which it exists. It has exhibited as many moral, political and religious shades in different times and countries, as a chameleon would exhibit in passing over all the colors of the spectrum. It is this that gives to Free-masonry such a checkered history, makes it assume such various and even contradictory phases, and has given rise to such grave charges and bitter denunciations on the part of its enemies, and such warm eulogiums on the part of its friends. Like all human institutions which are the creatures of circumstance, it changes with changing circumstances, and is determined by the ever shifting phases of human society. When English speculative Masonry was introduced amongst the volatile and versatile French, it underwent quite as great a metamorphosis as would a plain Quaker's coat, if it were to be cut over and made up again in the latest style of a Broadway buck. Instead of the three degrees which existed in primitive Masonry, the inventive French established, not nine, but one hundred and fifty, to indicate which, nearly all the high-sounding names in the French language were exhausted. "The office bearers of the craft," says a Masonic writer, "were arrayed in the most costly and splendid attire, and the lodges were transformed into lecturing rooms, where the wiser brethren supported the most extravagant opinions, discussed the most abstruse questions in theology and political economy, and broached opinions which were certainly hostile to true religion and sound government." This is a very mild statement of the case. It was the skeptical age in French history, and the Masonic lodges became the receptacles of the daring materialism, the wild infidelity and

the frantic irreligion, which preceded and reached their culmination in the bloody atrocities of the French Revolution. In Germany, when Masonry was introduced in 1735, the German rationalism was bringing forth its first fruits. This gave to the secret order a hearty welcome, and received it at once to its embrace. The consequence was, that the Masonic lodges became assemblies for smoking tobacco, drinking beer, and discussing transcendental and rationalistic dogmas. In 1776 Dr. Adam Weiskaupt founded the order of the Illuminati, and the following year he became a Free-mason for the purpose of using the order as a vehicle for disseminating his new Illuminism, and in this he was only too successful. Free-masonry adjusts itself to the religious atmosphere in which it lives. Among Christians it is Christian, among Infidels it is Infidel, among Jews it is Jewish, among Mohammedans it is Mohammedan, and this is a sufficient refutation of the universal character which its advocates claim for it. In conservative England and Scotland, Free-masonry has always retained a good degree of purity and of its primitive simplicity, and has even aspired, in the mouths of some of its advocates, to the character of a highly religious institution. In this country also, it has taken its tone from the high moral character and religious sentiments of our people. Indeed as this Republic is the legitimate daughter of England, and as the Anglo-Saxon race is here in the ascendant, American Free-masonry may be regarded as the purest offspring of the old English speculative Masonry. We have no railing accusations to bring against it, as an *existing institution*. And we here repeat what we said at the outset, that it has not been our purpose to discuss the merits of existing Free-masonry. We have our opinion and we allow others to have theirs, and so long as the institution keeps within its proper sphere, we, for one, shall leave it unmolested. But *historically* Free-masonry puts forth false pretences, and here, as a question of fact, we have joined issue with it, and we trust we have not transcended the limits of candid and honest discussion.

This historical investigation throws some light upon the possibility of the great secret or mystery which Free-masonry

professes so sacredly to guard. Of the nature of this secret, of course we are profoundly ignorant. One Masonic writer tells us that it is an ineffable mystery, which no Mason ever breathes, even to a fellow Mason, but which each one is to learn for himself by a sort of intuition, obtained by severe purgation of the inward understanding; and which the same writer tells us is destined to become the only and universal religion of the globe. However this may be, of one thing we may be certain, that no man can bring a clean thing out of an unclean. We mean that the history of Masonry refutes any such pretensions. A secret which has come down, if at all, through the muddy channels of the Egyptian and Grecian Mysteries, the Roman Collegia, and the corporations of the Middle Ages,—a secret which has been in combination with all forms of idolatry and unbelief and superstition, cannot be of much importance to the world in the nineteenth century. All the patching, patching, patching with traditions of Melchizedek and Moses and Solomon and John the Baptist, will not suffice to cover its nakedness.

But there is a mystery, which Free-masonry feigns to imitate or rival, a mystery of as much importance to this nineteenth century as to any other, even the mystery which was hid from ages and from generations,—the mystery of God manifest in flesh,—which is now published, not to a secret order, but to every sinner of Adam's race. To this mystery we can admit no rival.

Chambersburg, Pa.

J. C.

ART. V.—THE CHARACTER OF AN EARNEST MAN.*

YOUNG GENTLEMEN:

The last day of your College life has at length come. The cycle of Terms and Vacations has run its course. Recitations, Lectures and Examinations have all closed. The Senior Vacation has ended. Your last duties have been performed, and I may add, well performed. Once you stood at a distance; the long period of a College course stretched out before you, like a long winding avenue, at the end of which stood a white palace, hid beautifully behind a clump of lofty, spreading oaks, where Diligence and Virtue sat with bright eyes and shining faces, ready to crown their followers with an unfading chaplet. You started on your way, and pressed forward from month to month and from year to year, a happy, hoping band of vigorous youth. Now and then, your burdens were heavy; the rays of the sun were oppressive; some cares and anxieties harassed your hearts. But you had pleasures and joys also; purling streams of crystal water crossed your path; gentle breezes rustled among the leaves of the trees, and the birds greeted your ears with songs of praise to God; whilst the secret reward of duty sustained your hopes and animated your hearts. But now your position is changed. You stand in the chaste portico of the palace of Honor; and, as the sun is about to set, you look back through the smiling avenue up which you have just passed, with undefinable emotions of joy and sorrow. You think of your mistakes, I trust, with a truly penitent heart; and of every instance of fidelity with humble gratitude to God for life, health, strength and grace. You think too of the unknown years of your future life; and I trust, with high aims, firm resolutions and strong faith in God. The hour is solemn.

* A Baccalaureate delivered at the Commencement of Franklin and Marshall College, July 28rd, 1856, by E. V. Gerhart, President.

We, who have sought to guide your steps in the way of truth and duty, virtue and piety, to warn you against the deceitful bye-paths of error and sin, and to encourage your minds amid the difficulties of your progress in Literature and Science—we share a deep sense of your interesting and solemn position. And before you break up the circle of College brotherhood, before you extend the warm, parting hand of affection and confidence, and scatter into the wide world, we, your Teachers, who cannot but feel a lively interest in your future career, desire to utter a few words of affectionate counsel.

It has been the aim of the Faculty to conduct the whole routine of your College life under the moulding influence of a spirit, that regards your moral and spiritual relations as paramount to all others, and therefore always addresses the higher and better susceptibilities of your rational nature—your sense of right and of honor, your sense of duty to yourselves, to mankind and to God. For, all intellectual training and higher education is true and good, only in as far as it proceeds in the idea of man's normal position and eternal destiny. Otherwise there is no real discipline of mind, no actual fitness for the work of manhood. In other words, the reality of harmonious development and vigorous discipline, necessarily involves culture. Culture consists in the communication of truth, human and divine, natural and revealed, in its due proportions and relations, as being the requisite pabulum on which human nature feeds, grows and becomes strong, mentally as well as morally. Apprehending and receiving the elements of truth, the mind gets a healthful impulse to a free and complete development. Its manifold faculties are disciplined under the plastic influence of the elements which are taken up and assimilated to its own nature, as a tree absorbs suitable substances by its roots from the soil and drinks in light by its leaves from the sun; the whole man is thus qualified to go forth in his strength, and pursue the vocation of manhood. To the extent, then, that we have succeeded in actualizing our idea of education in regard to you as a class, you have been prepared for a career of earnest manliness. Earnest men we desire you to be always, in whatever sphere of life you may be called to move.

To the consideration of this theme I propose to devote a few parting words.

Who is an earnest man? An earnest man lives for some *fixed specific object*. This is essential to the vigor and efficiency of any character whether good or bad. Whether the principles of a man be right or wrong; whether his life be noble or ignoble; if he would attain to any prominence in the world or to any kind of greatness, it is necessary that he keep some one thing steadily before his mind, upon which his desires, thoughts and energies are concentrated, and to which the various plans and pursuits of his life are subordinate. Here is one secret of success among all classes of men, simply because it develops all the powers of our nature in one given direction. Though that direction be false and the object bad, yet unity of purpose serves to give unity and strength to life. Indeed all the show of unity and strength which the character of wicked or unconverted men possess, is derived from the operation of this principle. Nature furnishes analogies on every side. The majestic river flowing in resistless might to the ocean, is formed by the confluence of many rivulets and streams. The plastic powers of a tree culminate in the rich fruit on its branches, its final end. History is rich in examples. All the men, whether in the Church or State, whether in the quiet sphere of letters or on the field of bloody heroism, who stand out prominently upon the plain of the past, like the Jungfrau among the Alps, have been distinguished for singleness of purpose—for devotion to some one general end of life, to which all other objects and pursuits have been subservient.

But if a concentration of energy is essential to the strength of any character, much more so is it to that of earnest manliness. Singleness and fixedness of purpose, conditions the entire and symmetrical evolution of all the powers of a man, shapes the habit of his inner being by the plastic power of one generic idea, and thus places him in a position where he can put forth an earnest activity—where he can do something, and do it well. And to do some one thing well during life, suffices to satisfy the demands both of duty and interest. To attempt many things—to fix the eye for a while on one object and then

on another—to bend all the powers to the prosecution of this plan, and then to the prosecution of that,—is to fritter away the best talents and the longest life. No one thing is well done. The reason is plain. Life at best is short. Time and health are uncertain. The frailties of human nature are numerous. But more than this. The constitution of man is such, that any single individual becomes influential, useful and strong, in proportion as he possesses unity of action and purpose. The eye sees and sees only; the ear hears and hears only; the eye cannot smell and the ear cannot taste. The human race though composed of millions of individuals, is but one organic whole subordinated to one design of the Creator; and every individual holds but one place as a single member of the organism, and like the eye, can perform but one function aright, to the good and glory of all.

Who is an earnest man? An earnest man does not only select a single object. A man of one ruling passion does that. But he who is under the sway of passion does not belong to the class of earnest men. An earnest man selects one object that is morally *right and good*. The only standard of rectitude and goodness, is the law of God; we know of no other. An object is good and true, therefore, that conforms to this law as its principle. By consequence, it conforms also to the original plan and resistless progress of Providence, it conforms to the system of nature in all its parts; it conforms to the capacities and wants of the race and of each member of it; it corresponds to the necessary institutions of society; and must promote the glory of the State as well as the triumphs of the Church. The possession of rectitude and goodness sets a man at once positively in all his normal relations to himself, to mankind and to God. As the seeing of the eye, and the hearing of the ear, and the respiration of the lungs, are sustained by the laws of physical life, so is a man, wisely pursuing a good object, supported by the universal law of God and borne along in a succession of triumphs on the majestic current of the world's history.

An object that is good, stands connected with the honor of God and the welfare of mankind. It involves the general in-

terests of society either directly or indirectly ; for whatever possesses the quality of goodness implies such results by its nature and connections. The ignorant are instructed ; the young are trained ; the wrongs of the injured are redressed and their rights protected ; the guilty are punished ; the sick are nursed with parental tenderness and restored to health ; the widow and orphan are sheltered and befriended ; aspiring genius is taken by the hand and kindly led on in the path of science or art ; the erring are sought out and gently wooed back to the path of virtue. Any purpose that may be called good tends to effect some such result in its relation to man. In its relation to God it serves to illustrate the beauty and perfection of His character and works. Justice is enunciated ; morality is taught and exemplified ; the necessity of good order is maintained ; every species of vice is denounced and abhorred ; truth is inculcated ; virtue is loved ; the offerings of gratitude are laid on the altar ; the Gospel is proclaimed and obeyed ; Jesus Christ is acknowledged and honored as Lord of Lords. Under some one of the innumerable forms of virtue or piety, God is honored by any good design or good act.

An earnest man does not only select a good object as an end, but he selects it and pursues it *for its own sake*. So corrupt is the heart of man, that he does not only select a bad end and then prosecute it by the use of bad means ; but he often selects an end, good and noble in itself, and then prosecutes it to gratify pride, ambition, or some more ignoble passion. There are many who proclaim the Gospel of peace and good-will to men, or who practice the self-denying art of healing, for the sake of "filthy lucre." There are many who seem to devote life to the vindication of justice and the defence of truth, but prostitute the science of jurisprudence to the lowest forms of selfishness. There are many who profess to toil for their country's highest good, but have no higher or better object in view than personal aggrandizement. Men prostitute the noblest and most necessary vocations of public and private life, to the basest purposes. But an earnest man pursues a noble vocation from noble impulse, and for a noble end. Not the wishes of self, but a sense of the wants of hu-

manity; not the promptings of pride or ambition, but humble devotion to the happiness and honor of others; not a contracted, narrow, cunning love of silver and gold, but a supreme regard for the unchangeable demands of truth and right—these are the elements of his character.

To pursue a good end for its own sake, from regard to truth and duty at the expense even of conflicting temporal interests, connects a man directly with what is deeper, broader, and higher than himself. His mind expands. His heart expands. The activity of his understanding turns away from the darkness of moral evil within, upon objects of light that shine around and above him. His will is subjected to the corrective power of virtuous actions. His aspirations are drawn away from his little self, and go out like radii, over the plain, towards the circumference of the circle of human existence. The spirit of his inner life is itself elevated and ennobled. An earnest man becomes unselfish, generous, humble and noble by the transforming force of the objects on which his eyes are steadily fixed.

Who is an earnest man? An earnest man pursues an ennobling object on its own account with *unwavering resolution*. His purpose is fixed. His will is set. He is firm. Not interest is the motive power, but a strong, unbending will; not a sudden impulse of feeling, not an unaccountable whim, not arbitrary caprice, is the secret of action, but a strong, unbending will; not the hopes and fears of selfishness, not the self-consuming fire of passion—avarice, ambition, pride or revenge—keeps a man in his course, but a strong unbending will to do, to suffer and to toil in pursuit of truth and right. A strong will makes a strong man—a will that does not relax its hold of its object at the suggestion of ease, of indolence or pleasure—a will that resists the solicitations to every species of inconsistency, dishonesty and iniquity—a will that cannot be enticed by the delusions of fancy, by the vain tinsel and glare of hollow pomp and pride, nor by the smiles and promises of deception and hypocrisy—a will that cannot be bribed by flattery, or by the prospect of luxurious affluence, or by the fading chaplet of honor. Earnestness does not consult personal com-

fort or personal aggrandizement; does not connive at vice or cater for passion; does not keep back the truth or apologise for error; does no violence to a sense of moral obligation to make room for a selfish consideration; does not substitute the impulse of self-interest for the dictate of conscience; does not substitute the fear of man for the fear of God; does not give more weight to the things of time than to the things of eternity; does not barter the beatitude of Heaven for the vanities of earth; but holds on in its way under the guiding light of a high and noble purpose, impelled by a tender and wakeful conscience, and cheered, amid the painful disappointments of its progress, with the assurance that rectitude and goodness must triumph at last, whilst wily selfishness, hollow-hearted passion, lying hypocrisy, and low sensuality will sooner or later expose their odious rottenness and be covered with eternal disgrace and infamy.

The steady, onward course of an earnest man is sublime. Resisting the infirmities of his frail nature, setting his face like a flint against every allurement to unfaithfulness, scorning the compromise of principle openly or secretly, in public or in private life, sustained by an approving conscience and the smiles of his Master in heaven, he increases in firmness and resolution with the gathering strength of opposition, and clings to an unalterable purpose in defiance of the seductive arts and the selfish schemes of an unmanly policy.

Who is an earnest man? One element more is essential to the completeness of his character. It is the element of *feeling*. An earnest man has a warm heart. The consciousness of a high and noble purpose and an unwavering resolution to pursue it irrespective of consequences, is necessarily connected with the lively feelings of our nature. The feeling which earnestness implies is not a mere impulse. Impulse is awakened by a sudden thought that flashes upon the mind, or by an accidental excitement of the imagination, or by some indefinable impression upon the senses by some new object. Then it starts off at once, like a rocket in the air, burning, sparkling and brilliant in its ascent, leaving a track of splendid light behind; but its momentum is only of transient dura-

tion; all at once it explodes, explodes beautifully it is true; but the explosion is a glorious extinction of light, and it sinks in darkness, as contemptible refuse, to the surface of the earth. But the symbol of earnestness is the sun, which holds on in its steady and regular course, unaffected by the conflict of the winds or the artillery of the clouds, always pouring forth rays of heat upon the world, yet surrounded by a halo of inextinguishable glory. Impulse resolves without reflection and promises without counting the cost. Impulse burns, but it consumes itself. Impulse works whilst it exists, but it is driven to the right or to the left by accident. Even when it does move in the right direction, it is subject at any moment to some other stronger impulse, sprung into being by a trifling unforeseen circumstance, which diverts it from its course and carries it with as much rapidity in some other wrong direction. Impulse may be kind and affectionate; but its affection turns to hatred or anger by a wave of the hand. Impulse may be decided, but it is not firm.

Earnestness, however, includes feeling of an entirely different kind. It springs not from outward circumstances, but from the centre of inward being. It does not originate in impression, but in principle. It springs from the union of thought and will—from the combined force of certain knowledge and unchangeable resolution. Such feeling impels indeed, but under the direction of a sound judgment. It is subject to adverse circumstances and deceitful impressions, but it is retained in its course by the force of inflexible determination. Such feeling burns indeed, but does not feed on its own vitality; it is but the glow of a rational soul set on fire by truth, virtue and honor, which, like the atmosphere, supply the conditions of light and heat in larger quantities as the flame rises and expands. It is decided and firm most truly, but leaning on a higher arm, the sense of security and the confidence of success temper fortitude with mildness. It is affectionate, but affection flows from knowledge as well as from sympathy, and is fortified by wisdom as well as by appearances.

Earnestness thinks deliberately, but takes the deepest inter-

est in the object of its thoughts ; it resolves calmly, but its calm resolves are animated by a warm heart ; it plans wisely, but pursues its plans from love ; it works diligently, but it rejoices in its work. An earnest man is attentive, kind and obliging ; forbearing, generous and forgiving ; he is cheerful, zealous and active.

These, then, are the necessary elements which enter into the character of an earnest man. He selects some one noble object of life, to which he subordinates his studies, his plans, his labors, and his enjoyments ; he pursues this object as an ultimate end, with a fixed resolution to resist every temptation and press forward towards the mark ; and his resolution enlists the deepest and strongest feelings of his heart, calling forth the liveliest enthusiasm in his work. This is an earnest man, distinct from a man of pride, a man of ambition, or a man of covetousness. He is the man who is strong, and great, and blessed.

Young Gentlemen ! You constitute the first graduating class of Franklin and Marshall College, over whom it has been my duty to preside during one whole year ; and I add with great gratification, that the relation between us has been a source of pleasure during the whole time. You have not been faultless, most certainly ; and I will not offend your modesty nor good sense, by expressing a sentiment that your better judgment could not approve. But you have been diligent, respectful, and proficient. The high tone of your gentlemanly deportment and your steady progress in knowledge and culture, has itself been a compensation for the fatigue attending the performance of duty. And when I extend to you the parting hand of affection, it is with sorrow that your Senior year has closed. Yet you must go. Such is the order of College life. But go, young men, go into the world as men, men of earnest manliness. Select a calling, not at the bidding of pride, for pride is but a step from meanness ; not from ambition, for ambition ends not in honor, but in shame ; not from covetousness, for covetousness is cold, unmanly and degrading ; not from love of pleasure, for pleasure stings the soul like an adder ; but choose your sphere and end of life from principle—from

the dictates of manly earnestness. Stand firm for the right always, whether the sunshine or is hid behind a cloud ; whether you move along in a calm or in the midst of a storm. First know and feel that you are right, then stand fast—stand with the panoply of light well girded on—stand and let the heavens fall. Be strong, not in error, but in truth ; be strong, not in man, but in God ; be strong, not in self-will, but in the grace of Jesus Christ.

We dismiss you now to take your places, each in his own sphere of life. Go, and prove yourselves the worthy sons of Franklin and Marshall College. May the pillar of a cloud go before you by day. May the pillar of fire go before you by night. May the angel of the covenant hide you in the secret of his pavilion.

VI.—THE TYPICAL CHARACTER OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CHURCH.

It is the object of these remarks to point out, in a general way, in what respects the Jewish Church is to be regarded as a type, a shadow, or prophecy of the Christian Church. That they sustain this relation to each other follows from the more general principle, that the entire Jewish dispensation was a type of the Christian ; and that it was so organized in all its parts as to foreshadow a state of things which was to exist in Christian times. The Apostle Paul was full of this idea, and accordingly we find that in his hands it became a strong weapon, in resisting the influence of certain Judaizing teachers, who, like birds of evil omen, followed him in all his labors. The early disciples were internally only too much exposed to the seductive influence of those false teachers, and therefore easily led to place a false confidence in the empty forms and ceremonies

of the Jewish law, to which they had been accustomed from their earliest youth. To resist this retrograde movement, this downward tendency, the Apostle proceeds to show, that the ceremonies of the Jewish law, so far from being the foundation of the Christian's trust, were altogether of a shadowy, unsubstantial and typical character. They all looked to Christ and found in Him their true meaning. *Which things*, he maintains, Col. 2 : 17, referring not only to what had just been said, but to the Jewish dispensation as a whole, *are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ.* In these words we have the enunciation of a general principle, that connects the two dispensations, and shows their relation to each other, as one in spirit, but two-fold in form and manifestation. The one is the shadow, the other the substance.

The principle, we remark, is of very extensive application. It might indeed be employed for the purpose of confirming and illustrating every vital truth in our common Christianity, and the argument thus adduced, whether in favor of Christianity as a whole, or of its specific doctrines or parts, must carry along with it overwhelming conviction. For let it once be felt, that from the beginning of the world, there were types and shadows of some great event in the future ; let it be seen that they all pointed in one direction and towards the same thing, and that when this long-looked for event took place, they all met and found in it their fulfilment ; and who will not see in all these things an accumulated proof in favor of the divine character of Christianity ? Who could have foreseen so long beforehand the coming of Christ, and prefigured it in so many and such different ways, except God ? And who could have arranged such a complicated system of rites, doctrines and ceremonies in such order, and with such beauty, except the Divine Mind ? To the Christian at least, arguments of this kind possess a value that rises infinitely higher than those which are drawn from analogies in heathenism or nature, and it is only strange, that they are not more frequently resorted to.

As already remarked, it is our object to select only a single specimen of the analogies, which connect the two dispensations,

that is, to inquire how far the constitution of the Jewish Church throws light upon that of the Christian. This may serve to confirm our faith in one Holy Catholic Church, respecting which, there are at the present time, such contradictory views, and often apparently little, if any, faith at all.— We must also add, that our remarks are designed to be general, rather than particular, suggestive of further reflection, rather than an attempt to exhaust the subject. This must necessarily be the case, when the subject, viewed in all its bearings and difficulties, might fill volumes of earnest thought and inquiry.

1. In the first place, we remark, that the Jewish Church was an *organized unit*, and under this character, a type of the Christian. As an organized body, there was nothing like it in any part of profane history. It stood alone, firm and erect, when other institutions gave way and were consigned to the dust from which they sprung. Beyond Judea the face of human society, in every direction, resembled a desert of drifting sand, where no organization or association of men could endure the ravages of time. All works of this kind, the productions of the most refined skill and wisdom of men, never arrived at a full and compact state of organization, and hence were in a short time either disintegrated by the fingers of time, or covered over by its accumulated dust. Neither the fixedness of the Lacedæmonian will, nor the power of prejudice or tradition among the most energetic nations, could preserve their institutions from decay and dissolution. Systems of philosophy were organized one after another, but began to decline again as soon as they arrived at the acme of their growth and prosperity, showing that they did not possess within themselves a proper vital organizing principle. Systems of religion also, grand and gorgeous, addressed to the sensual nature of man, and, one would suppose on that account, destined to endure as long as man himself remains sensual, also sprung up, but how soon they degenerated and passed away. The same remark is exemplified on the highest scale in the case of civil power, wherever it became organized. When the celebrated kingdoms and empires of antiquity had arrived at their meri-

dian splendor, disorder and confusion reigned throughout their entire extent, whilst order, law and unity, in their full meaning, were out of the question. What seemed to be almost superhuman efforts to bring about a permanent union among men were only so many splendid failures, which reacted most violently upon their authors. But amidst all this change, this disorder, this confusion and chaos among the world's elements, the Church of the Jews remained fixed and permanent. A vital principle pervaded all its parts, forming a unity, a divinely established order of things, which nothing could dissolve. When those to whom it was committed proved untrue to their trust, the divine order remained, and as soon as a better spirit took possession of them, attracted them again by a hidden power, and brought them to rally around it as the centre of their national life. Any attempt to alter or change its constitution was regarded by the Jews as a most heinous sin, as well as an unrighteous blow at their highest earthly interests. A schism in one case resulted in the establishment of a separate kingdom, which ever afterwards was regarded with feelings of hostility. Captivity in a strange land only tended to increase their faith and confidence in the Church, as an order of things established by divine appointment. It was their ideal of everything that was grand, glorious and beautiful in the world, the "joy of the whole earth." The longer it stood the more firm and compact it became; its parts were mutually consistent with each other, and mutually supported each other. Nothing could be added to it and nothing could be taken from it. It stood in broad contrast with the world on the outside; it would not mingle with the elements of time; it would not surrender aught that was distinct in its character, nor would it receive anything into its constitution that was opposed to its divine spirit. Like the people, who sustained it, it was regarded as unyielding, unreasonably stubborn, and hostile to mankind. Its boundary lines separating it from the world, were so definitely fixed, that they were known and read of all men. It had a constitution that was fixed, and peculiar, and with this corresponded all its aims and operations; it was the most perfect polity which had ever been witnessed, it was a

world within a world, a higher cosmos, designed to reflect as far as possible, the glory which had faded from the face of this present lower one.

But this system of order and unity in the midst of a disorganized world, was, as we are told, only a shadow of something more perfect, that was to be developed in the future. It pointed plainly to the Church of Christ, as its fulfilment, as the substance of which it was only the shadow, in which, what it only possessed in idea, was to be realized on the widest and grandest scale. The Jewish unity was confined and local in its limits, and it could not, therefore, in the nature of the case, extend beyond its national boundaries. But Christianity commenced where Judaism left off, and realized in the fullest sense, what this latter could not do on account of its peculiar character. It set aside the barriers, which sin had set up between Jew and Gentile, between nation and nation, and ignoring them as the work of Satan, aimed to secure the unity of our race on the largest scale, so as to include all men in one brotherhood of love and harmony.

Thus the Christian Church was established ; the old remained, but not as it had existed previously : what was Jewish and temporal passed away : what was divine and eternal was disengaged from the wreck and made to pass over into the new. The first announcement of the near approach of the new Church was made in the first place to the Jews in the wilderness by the Baptist, the harbinger of Christ, who proclaimed that the kingdom of heaven was at hand ; but soon afterwards it was extended to all alike, to Jew and Gentile, to high and low, to rich and poor, to learned and unlearned. All men were urged to enter this kingdom, to place themselves under its government, and to unite in forming integral parts of one glorious whole. Baptism was proclaimed as the rite of initiation into its privileges and blessings, and a polity, an organization immediately arose upon a basis of its own, claiming for itself all the prerogatives of the old Church, and revealing still higher hopes of salvation, eternal life to the lost children of Adam. Love was the pervading principle, which bound its members together and to Christ its head, and which, by its

plastic power, produced a family-likeness among its individual members to each other and to Christ. Division, dissension, schism and heresy, as they are most antagonistic to love, were regarded as most dangerous and hostile to the new institution, and hence they were resisted on all sides, as fraught with evil. By the apostles, its immediate founders, it was compared to a building fitly framed together, that groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord ; and still more appropriately, to a body, connected together by joints and bands, and knit together, increasing with the increase of God. Such was the idea, towards which all the labors of the first disciples tended, namely, to build up a spiritual and divine institution in the world, which should receive men from the world, form them into living parts of one holy temple on earth, and thus prepare them for heaven. And such must ever be the true idea of the Church, until it becomes fully realized at last in the new heavens and the new earth. In the nature of things, it must correspond with its prototype among the Jews as an organic unity. It must be one body, and have one mind, one spirit, and one aim. This of course excludes all divisions, schisms and heresies, as antagonistic to its very nature. As all attempts to divide the Jewish hierarchy, or their religious constitution, was a grievous sin, so in Gospel times, it must be at least equally as grievous a sin to attempt to do the same thing. Salvation, then, was of the Jews, as the Saviour himself said ; salvation now must be of Christians and the Christian Church ; in the one case destruction and ruin overtook all those who despised the divine arrangement that had been made for their salvation ; if they neglected it or refused to submit themselves to its claims upon their souls, they were cut off, and there remained no hope for them : why then should not the same rule hold good in the other case, and why should men in Christian times stand aloof from the Church with impunity, and yet expect salvation in an isolated and hostile position to the only means through which they must be saved. The case is a very clear one. What was true when men had only the type, must certainly be true also when they have the antitype. But as the Christian Church is the realization, the substance of something

that went before, it must rise above its shadow, and exemplify in a much higher degree all the attributes of the Jewish type. It must not, of course, slavishly copy what was purely local and national in this latter, for this like everything transitory must pass away ; but, when this is granted, no one reflecting for a moment can deny that the present Church should not be more united, more compact and more organized than its predecessor. This follows irresistibly from the nature of the case, and hence all opposition to the Christian unity, all rending of the body of Christ, all ignoring or setting aside its claims or prerogatives, must be an aggravated sin and evil ; and in the same degree that the substance is of more account than the shadow. This is clearly implied in the following passage : Heb. 10 : 28. He that despised Moses' law perished under two or three witnesses ; of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, &c. Unity, then, extending not merely to individual members of the Church, but also to its inward constitution, was an attribute of the ancient Church, and therefore, under the Christian dispensation, it ought to be manifested in a still higher degree than formerly, notwithstanding the divisions and distractions of Zion at the present day, which seem to deny its necessity.

2. Again, the Jewish Church had a *ministry*, a *priesthood*, by which its unity was mediated ; in this respect also, it must find its fulfilment in the Christian Church. The affairs of religion among the Jews, as is well known, were committed to the tribe of Levi, and the family of Aaron, the most distinguished of this tribe, were divinely called to discharge the priestly functions. The Levites outside of this family were required to take charge of the temporalities of the Church, whilst Aaron's family attended to the spiritualities. From among the priests one was elected to serve as High Priest, who presided over the other priests and to preserve order in the services of the sanctuary, but also discharged certain remarkable duties, which no one could assume but himself. Thus there were three orders of public servants connected with the sanctuary. There could not have been more nor less. The divis-

ion grew out of the wants and necessities of the Church, and the nature of things. The question now is, were these three orders typical, and if so, what do they prefigure in the Church of Christ? Some deny their typical character altogether, and when it is asserted that they typify the Christian ministry, refer us to the ancient prophets as their proper representatives under gospel times. But if this were so, it is difficult to think of any thing else which they prefigure; they must have been types of something, because they constituted the living and most important factors of the old economy; besides, if we are not allowed to assign to these a typical significance, there would be no sufficient reason to regard other parts of that economy, especially such as were less vital in the system, as typical. But this would be doing violence to the whole tenor of the New Testament, which is so manifestly built upon that which preceded it; to the whole line of the Apostles' argument, in which they resist the Judaism of their times, by maintaining that the Christian is the fulfilment of the Jewish dispensation; and especially to the words of the Saviour himself: "For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled." Matth. 5: 18.

Others contend that the priesthood finds its fulfillment in the body of Christian believers, that the division between people and priest has been broken down by the coming of Christ, and that now every believer is a priest, as much so as the ministry. This view is based upon the passage in 1 Peter 2: 9, where believers are called a chosen generation, a royal priesthood.* But it must be remembered, that this same language was applied to the children of Israel by God, through his servant Moses, in ancient times, Exodus 19: 5, 6, and that if it elevates the body of believers, it does so, only in the same degree as the ancient Israelites were elevated by their Church above the heathen around them, without, however, setting aside the distinctive institution of the ministry. As the priesthood of every single Israelite did not destroy a particular priesthood, so the general priesthood of believers now-a-days, cannot consistently be supposed to render unnecessary the

regular ministry in the Church, as something distinct from that of the people.

The Jewish priesthood, then, was a type, and if it have a fulfillment at all, it must be found in the Christian ministry. But when this is once granted, a difficulty still remains in connecting the type with its proper antitype, or in other words, to show how the three orders in the Jewish priesthood are represented in the Christian Church. It is evident, that the Levites were typical of the Christian deaconship. The same necessity which existed for the establishment of a distinct order in the Jewish sanctuary, called Levites, was soon felt by the first Christians, and hence the deaconate was established as a permanent office at an early day. Both classes of public servants stood as it were on the outside of the Church, and attended to such matters as were external to it. It is likewise clear that the ancient priesthood represented typically the ministry in Christian times. The term priest is only an abbreviation of presbyter, a term applied to ministers of the Gospel in the New Testament. It devolved upon Jewish priests to officiate at the altar, to offer sacrifices, and to pray for the people. They stood between God and man, and presented, not orally, but typically, to guilty, yet penitent souls, the way of pardon and peace, through the sacrifice offered up. This is precisely what all Christian ministers are commissioned to do. They stand at an altar also; not indeed a Jewish one, made of brass or stone and covered with blood, but one that is infinitely more precious, an altar, to which no one, who serves the tabernacles dare approach; it is the real and only true altar, for on it lies a true and living sacrifice, Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God, slain from the foundation of the world. At such an altar the Christian minister officiates; there he offers up the sacrifice of prayer and praise; there he intercedes for the people, and there too he exhibits, not by types addressed to the eye, but by the lively preaching of the word, the way of salvation to guilty souls. He and all like him are priests in the truest and deepest sense of the word; or, if the term is offensive, let some milder term be employed to express the same thing; but never let us set aside the idea

also with the term. This lies at the foundation of the Christian ministry, without which, it falls to the ground together with everything that is lovely or precious in the sanctuary. The ministry is not only priestly in its character, but a thousand times more so than the Jewish priesthood, else the order of nature must be reversed ; shadows must take the place of realities, and realities the place of shadows.

The principal difficulty, however, in tracing out the analogy under consideration, consists in pointing out in a satisfactory way, the fulfillment of the Jewish high priesthood in the Christian Church. In regard to this, Christians of the present day are divided in sentiment, and such, unfortunately, has been the case in past time. A large portion of Christendom contend that there must needs be a High Priest on earth still, placed at the head of ecclesiastical power, and authorized to preside over the Christian priesthood and the Church at large. This is the view of the Church of Rome, and upon it, together with the words of our Saviour to Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church," the claims of the papacy, so far as they are derived from Scripture, are mainly founded.

Accordingly, the members of that Church maintain with unyielding tenacity, that a pope or chief bishop is a necessary ingredient in the idea of a true Church, the centre and pivot upon which the whole system revolves. Is this so? The question is one of vast importance and of vast difficulty ; difficult because the Church as a whole, has not given a unanimous reply in regard to it ; at least not in the same manner as she has done in reference to the doctrines of the Trinity, and the Incarnation. Protestantism denies, Romanism asserts. If we appeal to the New Testament, the particular question in this case seems to be clearly settled in favor of the former. In no place is it asserted or even intimated that the High Priesthood of the Jews was ever to be realized in the form of any single bishop ; we may say that there is not a single passage that can directly or indirectly be made to show that any one of the Apostles or their followers was to be the glorious antitype of the High Priest of the old dispensation. Instead of this, wherever its typical import is spoken of, it is always

referred to Jesus Christ himself. Thus he is called a merciful and faithful high priest, the high priest of our profession, a great high priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God. From this it would seem to be very clear, that in the mind of the sacred writers, who, in the nature of the case, must have been constantly tracing analogies between the old and new dispensation, Jesus Christ was the only anti-type and fulfillment of the ancient order, and the only true High Priest of the Christian profession. But if we consider for a moment the duties of the Jewish high priest, it will be seen at once, that no person could properly represent him in the Church; but the Lord Jesus Christ. It was not only his office to preside over the other priests, and thus serve as their bond of union; he had besides this peculiar duties to discharge, and such as he only was permitted to discharge. Thus he was required once a year to make atonement for the sins of the people, and to enter the Most Holy place, where the Shechinah, the visible presence of God dwelt; this was a function, which it would have been the grossest profanation for any other mortal to have performed. These duties were typical of something vastly different from those performed by any bishop on earth, and resemble nothing else so much as those, which Jesus Christ discharged when he made a real atonement for the sins of the world, and then passed into the Most Holy place in the heavens, there forever to remain as our perpetual High Priest and Intercessor at the right hand of God. If it be asserted, that the head of the Jewish Church was a human being, and ought to be represented in the Christian Church by a human being also, to fulfill the ancient type, the objection is easily met and answered by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, chapter 2, where he admits that it behooved Christ to be made like his brethren, and therefore also took part of flesh and blood, that he might be a merciful and faithful High Priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people.

From the character of the Old Testament Church, then, it is plain, that there are three orders in the Christian priesthood, but not in the sense in which it is asserted by the Church of

Rome. There may be times and circumstances when a visible head may be necessary to guide the destinies of the Church militant; the student of history will admit that such an office in perilous times has been of service in past time; to the cause of truth it may be so now; and had we the eye of prophecy we might foresee such a necessity in the future. But if such an office should be needed, it derives its necessity from the exigencies of the times, and not from the nature of the Church as such, whether as viewed in its Jewish or Christian form. The Jewish theocracy existed as such without a visible head for a long period of time in a high state of prosperity; but circumstances arose in the course of time, when a visible head was called for in the person of Saul. These circumstances, however, were external and not internal. Thus it must be in the case of the Church. A visible head may be required for the purpose of unity, of correcting abuses, or for carrying out a particular mission. But then it must not be urged as the normal, necessary form of the Church, and its authority must not be derived from any type or shadow in the Jewish, but from considerations of an entirely different character.

3. Another attribute of the Jewish Church was the *word of God*, which was committed to her charge. There was thus a Jewish revelation of the Divine mind, and we may expect to find it also only a dim prophecy of that more glorious revelation which was subsequently made in the person of Christ. Upon examination it will be found, that the revelation, as recorded in Scripture, was of a progressive character, commencing with a few faint beams of light, and ending in a flood of celestial glory. The progress is regular, harmonious and most beautiful throughout, each part throwing light upon that which succeeds it, whilst, at the same time, it is itself lighted up with new meaning and significance. But we do not intend to enlarge upon this point, and shall merely refer the reader to French's Hulsean Lectures, where the subject is handled in the most able and satisfactory manner, whilst we proceed to the last analogy.

4. We remark, lastly, that the Jewish Church had her *sacraments*, and as such, was a shadow of things to come. The

sacrifices are sometimes regarded as Jewish sacraments, but as they refer plainly to the sacrifice of the cross, they ought to be placed in a different category. The proper Jewish sacraments were circumcision and the Passover, and for these we find naturally and easily their antitypes in the new covenant. Circumcision was the rite of initiation into the old covenant, and entitled those who received it to all the rights and privileges of that covenant. He who was circumcised became a member of it; he who refused circumcision became a castaway; he was regarded as nothing more than a heathen, and it was said that such a soul should be cut off from Israel. The old covenant, as a mere temporary arrangement, passed away, and gave place to the new covenant; as this needed some rite of initiation, Christian Baptism was instituted, which is now the fulfillment and completion of the ancient rite.

From the beginning baptism has been regarded as an initiatory rite. They who accept of it are entitled to all the blessings of the Gospel, whilst they who reject it have no part or lot in the Christian salvation. Their very act of rejection implies at the same time the rejection of the blessings of the Gospel. Circumcision entitled its subjects to all the spiritual and temporal blessings of the Jewish nation. That eternal life, however, to which it directed the worshiper, was something afar off in the distance, and was only prefigured by the temporal blessings which were conferred upon the person circumcised. It was necessary here, as in the case of the sacrifices, for the pious Israelite to rest his hope of salvation upon a mere promise, which was to be fulfilled after a long series of ages had rolled around. Circumcision, therefore, did not bring the Jew into an immediate contact with eternal life, which they might at once receive or reject. As a mere shadow it could not do this. But what it could do, was left to baptism, its substance and fulfillment. This introduces us into a new sphere of thought, where types and empty ceremonies have passed away, and we are called to deal with living realities. The law came by Moses, but grace and *truth* by Jesus Christ. Though our final and complete reward is to be enjoyed in another world, yet it commences and progresses here in time. He who be-

lieth in the Lord Jesus Christ *hath* eternal life already abiding in him. Christ is present in his Church, bestows upon his people his Spirit, quickens, and already inaugurates in their hearts the bliss of heaven. The Church is made the depositary of heaven's richest and most precious gifts. There the fountain for the washing away of all sin is found; there stands the tree of life; and there flows the river of life. Baptism introducing us into the most intimate relations with God, brings us into immediate contact with eternal life. It lays as it were that rich blessing into our hands, which we may receive or reject as our hearts incline. If the offer, under this form, is rejected, baptism is a curse and not a blessing; but if, on the other hand, it is received, then it is the sacrament of regeneration, or as the Scriptures say, the washing of regeneration and the washing away of sin.

The Passover was the other sacrament of Judaism, and accordingly the type of a Christian sacrament. Like circumcision, it was also a sign of the covenant to which it belonged. It differed from it, however, in this, that whilst circumcision was the sign of initiation, and could, therefore, be celebrated only once, the Passover was the sign of the believer's continuance in the divine covenant, and was, therefore, to be celebrated repeatedly and to be observed from generation to generation. It signified that the Jews, who observed it, were determined to abide by its provisions, and accordingly those who neglected it, showed that they despised the covenant itself and had actually fallen from it.

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is also the sign of our continuance in an order of divine appointment, and on Christian ground it is the counterpart of the Passover, its sum and substance. Jesus Christ is the true Paschal lamb, slain for our redemption, not from Egyptian bondage, but from the more terrible bondage of sin and death. Here too blood is sprinkled upon the lintels of our doors, and when the angel of vengeance passes over our houses, he spares us, because a propitiation has been made for us. But Christ, as the true Paschal lamb, was not only slain for us; as thus sacrificed he becomes a feast to the soul, the bread of everlasting life. This, in the first place, is represented to us emblematically in the Lord's Sup-

per. The emblems of his broken body and shed blood testify to the fact, that he was slain, and is now the true sacrifice for the sins of the world. But then, as these emblems are given to each believer and are received by him into his own body, in accordance with the Saviour's command, "Take, eat, and drink ye all of it," no one ought to doubt, that the sacrament is a real and not merely a typical participation of the Saviour's life, of his body, of his flesh and his blood. If this be denied, we have nothing left but a sacrament that is of no higher character than the Jewish Passover, which was a sign of blessings that were to be received, and not of those already enjoyed. Thus, all those who deny the Saviour's presence in the Supper, throw themselves back upon Jewish grounds, and rest in a mere shadow, denying the presence of the reality. But what then becomes of the marked difference between the two dispensations, according to which we are to regard the one as the mere shadow, the other the real substance that reflects the shadow? Then, too, what becomes of the Saviour's words, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy but to fulfill?" If the relation between the two economies be such as it is represented to be, then there can be no doubt, that the Christian sacraments are real transactions, and infinitely superior to their types. This is, without doubt, the true state of the case. It is very much overlooked in our day, and men show a disposition to reduce them to mere empty ceremonies and forms. Yet the word of God cannot be changed, nor his truth divested of its power.

The whole subject, which has been discussed, is one of much importance. It is also encompassed with many difficulties. Whilst some are disposed to deny the typical significance of the old dispensation altogether, others run into the opposite extreme and get entangled in a host of their own fanciful analogies, that have no foundation in the nature of the case. A sober interpretation of the old types and ceremonies would tend very much to confirm and illustrate the truths of the Gospel, and perhaps aid us very materially through the mazes of our present difficulties and distractions in the Church.

Lancaster, Pa.

T. A.

ART. VII.—SHORT NOTICES

GEOGNOSEY, or the Facts and Principles of Geology against Theories.
By *David N. Lord*. New York: Franklin Knight. 1855.

This is a thoroughly infidel book. In saying so we do not mean that it is written by a professed infidel, or with the intention of inculcating infidel tendencies. Far otherwise. Mr. Lord is the grand self-constituted defender of the faith in these latter days. He would fain take the whole battle into his own hands, and, armed at all points, vanquish, not only every species of foe which in his opinion is assailing Christianity, but also every fellow defender who does not fight with precisely the same weapons. He is the Don Quixotte of orthodoxy: if he cannot find a foe he will make one.

But what we mean, by calling the book infidel, is, that it puts the defense of the inspiration of the Scriptures on a wholly false foundation, makes wholly false and untenable issues, stakes the character and veracity of the Scripture narrative upon a test which it can never stand,—a test which he wholly fails to make good in its behalf—and must leave the impression upon the mass of its reflecting readers (so far as they may be influenced by it) that the narrative in Genesis is wholly indefensible upon the side of science. More than once has Christianity had occasion to exclaim, "Save me from my friends."

Let us sketch briefly the platform on which Mr. Lord places the religion which he professes to defend; and on which alone he declares it defensible. (1.) The record in Genesis is a literal, consecutive, and complete, (or exhaustive, as to the main features) narrative of facts in the order of their occurrence, supernaturally and infallibly communicated to the mind of Moses. He will allow in it no intervals, no metaphors, no figurative uses of terms, no allegories. (2.) The events detailed in this narrative commenced about six thousand years ago. (3.) All the geological phenomena of the earth's crust, (which phenomena of strata, fossil remains, &c., Mr. Lord admits as facts) must be brought within the compass of this period. (4.) The supposition of indefinite periods, represented by days, or of the great-

er age of the earth prior to the formative process or period described in Genesis, convicts the record of falsehood, destroys the possibility of its inspiration, and with it that of the whole Pentateuch, because of the reiteration of the verity of this narrative in the giving of the law, and with the Pentateuch that of the whole Old Testament, and with the Old Testament, that of the New, and with the New Testament destroys the whole fabric of Christianity—and there is an end. Such is the platform; and to the Herculean task of defending it, Mr. Lord boldly, and with no fear of consequences, betakes himself in the volume before us. The third item above, which is the great item in a scientific view, he disposes of in the space of one hundred 12mo. pages; for only the last hundred pages of the book are of an affirmative character. We know of no literary or scientific undertaking in modern times to compare with it—save the recent ones of Dr. J. J. Janeway.

Mr. Lord occupies the first half of the book in showing that the received theories of geology, as to the age of the earth, are utterly and hopelessly irreconcilable with the literal interpretation of the Scriptural record. And in this he is successful. He makes out a strong case; indeed he spends upon it an unnecessary amount of labor; and to nine-tenths of those among his readers who have any considerable amount of scientific attainment, and who accept his theory of literal interpretation, there will be no escape from infidelity of some sort. The bold dogmatism of this part of the book is only equalled by the absurdity of its logic. Assuming the infallibility of his theory of inspiration and interpretation, the author constantly insists upon the statements in the first chapter of Genesis being taken as geological, astronomical and meteorological *facts*, and to be treated and disposed of as such by all geologists who would make any pretensions to science. And to bring into any reasonable harmony the statements of this (literal) narrative, he is obliged to call in a series of displays of supernatural, divine power, which, in their conception, are not only extraordinary but ridiculous; such, for instance, as that the separation of the land from the waters, (v. 9,) or in other words the elevation of continents and islands was not produced by any secondary causes, such as volcanic agency, but by the direct instantaneous act of Omnipotence; and why? because in the former case it would have required several days or weeks for the water to drain off, whereas the whole process was confined to *one day*!—and, again, as that the earth and all the planets must have been created at a much greater distance from the sun than they now are, and each with its axis at right angle

to the ecliptic, and that for three days they were all by the force of gravity dashing on headlong to plunge into the sun, the earth already with a copious freightage of vegetation, (v. 11-12,) and that on the fourth day—the sun and moon on that day being set *for seasons*, &c.—the mighty momentum of each planet was suddenly annihilated, and being adjusted to its ecliptic, it was sent whirling round in the mystic dance!—and such, again, we may add, though Mr. Lord strangely overlooks it—as that the light of some of the fixed stars must have been created myriads of miles on its way towards the earth, at the same moment that the star itself was created in the depths of space. These are specimens of the modest conjectures of a man who delights to remind geologists of the necessity of a rigid adherence to facts.

In the succeeding chapters he refutes the commonly received doctrines of geology as to the source of the materials of the strata, and in the concluding chapters he gives his own theory, at which we must glance briefly. The Garden of Eden, (despite its location, Gen. 2: 10-14,) and the antediluvian races of men had their existence upon a large island somewhere in the Indian Ocean, which island exhibited no stratified rocks or geological phenomena, but was composed of a primitive and supernaturally prepared soil for the use of its occupants. A surface of the same nature covered all the exposed portions of the earth. The water perforating rapidly through this, soon reached the vast storehouse of material below, with some of which it generated powerful chemical action, and set in operation vast projectile forces, which shot up numerous jets of the various substances, some of them soft mud, others burning lava, of which the stratified rocks were composed, and superimposed upon the primitive soil which was crystalized into granite. The same forces heaved the mountains, raised and depressed the continents, secured the deposition of the coal, chalk and fossils, and in short did everything needful to be done to make the present continents what they are, in the short space of eighteen hundred or two thousand years, preceding the deluge. None of these forces, however, were at work beneath the Paradisiacal island, which would have made it an unsafe residence. At the deluge this island was forever submerged beneath the waves—hence no human fossils—the other continents permanently elevated, and made habitable; and man began a new history. With regard to this western world, he thinks the volcanic process went on much longer, and that many of the stratified and fossiliferous rocks of the United States are the product of several centuries subsequent to the deluge—which we suppose he inferred (so often does he seem to go by the rule of con-

traries) from the almost entire *absence* of volcanoes, dead or alive, in the United States. And this is *Geognosy*—the “*knowledge of the earth.*”

C.

THE PROTESTANT THEOLOGICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA: Being a condensed translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopedia: With additions from other sources. By the Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D. D., assisted by distinguished theologians of various denominations. Parts I. and II. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blackiston. 1856.

Some notice of this work, as in contemplation, was taken in a previous number of the Review, in connection with the publication of a few articles in advance of the first Part, as samples of its general manner and style. We are glad to find, that what was then promise only for the most part, has since begun to take the form of vigorous execution; and that notwithstanding the greatness of the undertaking, it is now in a fair way to be carried through with full and entire success, as rapidly as the nature of the case will allow. We have before us Part II, completing the amount of 256 large octavo pages, and bringing the alphabetical course of subjects down to the article *Arminius*. This is to be followed very soon by Part III, which is now in the course of passing through the press; and both the enterprising spirit of the publishers and the known diligence of the editor, furnish reason to presume, that the American work will continue to follow hard after the progress of its German prototype, so as finally to overtake it and come out nearly even with it in its conclusion.

Of the importance and value of the original work, it is not necessary here particularly to speak. No one can make any question of its great merits, who is simply informed of its plan, and made to understand the character of the illustrious authorship from which it is known to proceed. This includes, along with Herzog himself, the names of more than one hundred contributors, including, as the list at once shows, the ripest scholars and most approved divines of Germany. Among this great literary corps, the subjects are distributed with due regard to their several forms of previous qualification and taste, and as a matter of course, the articles are the result of their best judgment and most careful research. This arrangement leaves room indeed for some diversity of excellence, as regards both matter and manner. It is not to be imagined, that so many men of learning and piety should

think always precisely alike, or be able to write all with just the same ability and power. Such difference, however, holding within proper bounds, and growing as a matter of necessity out of the very nature of the case, cannot be considered to detract at all from the general value of the work. It may even add to its interest, and render it more suitable for the purposes of instruction than it would be found to be under a more uniform character; and it is certain at all events, that the division of labor in such a case, as we have it here, must be productive of a result much more perfect and complete as *a whole*, than we could have any right to look for from any other plan of construction.

The translations read smoothly for the most part, and bear evidence of having been executed with judgment and care. Altogether the work bids fair to reflect lasting honor on those, by whose diligence it is in the way of being offered to the American public; and we may already very safely assign it a place among the most important contributions yet made to the theological literature of our country.

N.

TYPICAL FORMS AND SPECIAL ENDS IN CREATION. By Rev. James McCosh, LL. D., and George Dickie, A. M., M. D. Carters, New York. 1856.

DR. MCCOSH by his work upon the "Divine Government, Physical and Moral," published some five or six years ago, took at once a position among the most profound and careful thinkers of the age. And the reputation which he thus won for himself prepared the public mind for the favorable reception of any thing further, in the same general line of thought, from his pen. In the North British Review for August, 1851, an article appeared on "Typical Forms," to which public attention was called, in a lengthened notice, by Hugh Miller of the Edinburg Witness, as "an article at once the most ingenious and suggestive," with an intimation of its authorship by Dr. McCosh, and a hope that the author would expand it into a volume. This he has done in conjunction with Dr. Dickie, Professor of Natural History in the Queen's University in Ireland, who, by his studies and acquirements was admirably fitted to supply the scientific element which such a volume needed. The work is designed to supply a desideratum in the line of argument from the facts and phenomena of nature in behalf of revelation, and it may be regarded as an expansion, or further pushing on into new regions, of the line of argument so ably

pursued in the *Analogy of Butler*,—an argument which is not in itself sufficient or exhaustive, but which is valuable as an adjunct or auxiliary. It is the purpose of the work to show that there are in every department of nature, a general order, and a special adaptation,—a general order having as its basis a specific type or model, and a special adaptation, consisting in modifications of this type to adapt it to various circumstances and uses. Some of the correspondences which are thus traced, are equally singular and startling, and many of the scientific facts developed are such as must, in due time, work great changes in the methods of scientific investigation in many departments of nature, and in the conclusions drawn therefrom. And the book, in its concluding chapters, attempts to show that this doctrine of types and special adjustments, as found in nature, has its analogy in the typical system and gradual outgrowth of revelation. In this part of the work, the theological student will perhaps experience a little disappointment, owing to the brief and meagre manner in which the subject is treated, and the indefiniteness in which it is left, so far as any tangible argument in behalf of revelation is concerned. A great deal is left to be inferred, and there are occasional hints of a great idea looming up before the minds of the authors, but which it seems to us they have not been prepared fully to grasp and work out. To the amateur student of science the work is a charming and suggestive aid, and will lead his delighted feet into "fresh fields and pastures new."

One noticeable feature of the work is that it admits, without any hesitation, the geological doctrines of the great age of the world, and of successive creations and destructions long anterior to the existence of man, and also certain doctrines closely allied to Oken's theory of development, which in other quarters have been pronounced rank heresy. And yet it has been generally endorsed by the theological public, and it thus marks a great step in the path of concession to the claims of science in which the theological world is steadily traveling. Whither it will lead remains to be seen.

C.

SERMONS AND ESSAYS BY THE TENNENTS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES, compiled for the Board. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. pp. 374.

The pioneer ministry of the most of the different Churches in this country, were men of sterling merit. They gave evidence of this, not

only by their learning and talents, but also by their great devotion to the work in which they were engaged. They labored in season and out of season, and submitted to every kind of sacrifice and self denial, for the purpose of advancing the cause of their divine master. Their pulpit efforts, so far as they have come down to us, were of the more sober and solid cast, abounding in instruction and in pungent appeals to the conscience. We find this to be especially the case, with those who represented the churches of the Presbyterian order. The volume, the title of which is given above, embodies sermons and essays to the number of twelve, on as many different topics, such as, The Justice of God, The Divine Mercy, The Grace of God, &c., from men of the particular period and cast of mind, to which we have referred. They carry in them intrinsic evidence of their belonging to the age in which, and to the men by whom, they were written. No one can read them carefully and prayerfully, without being instructed and profited.

F.

